

TOP STORY: PAULA JONES, A WOMAN SCORNE

July 25 - August 7, 1994

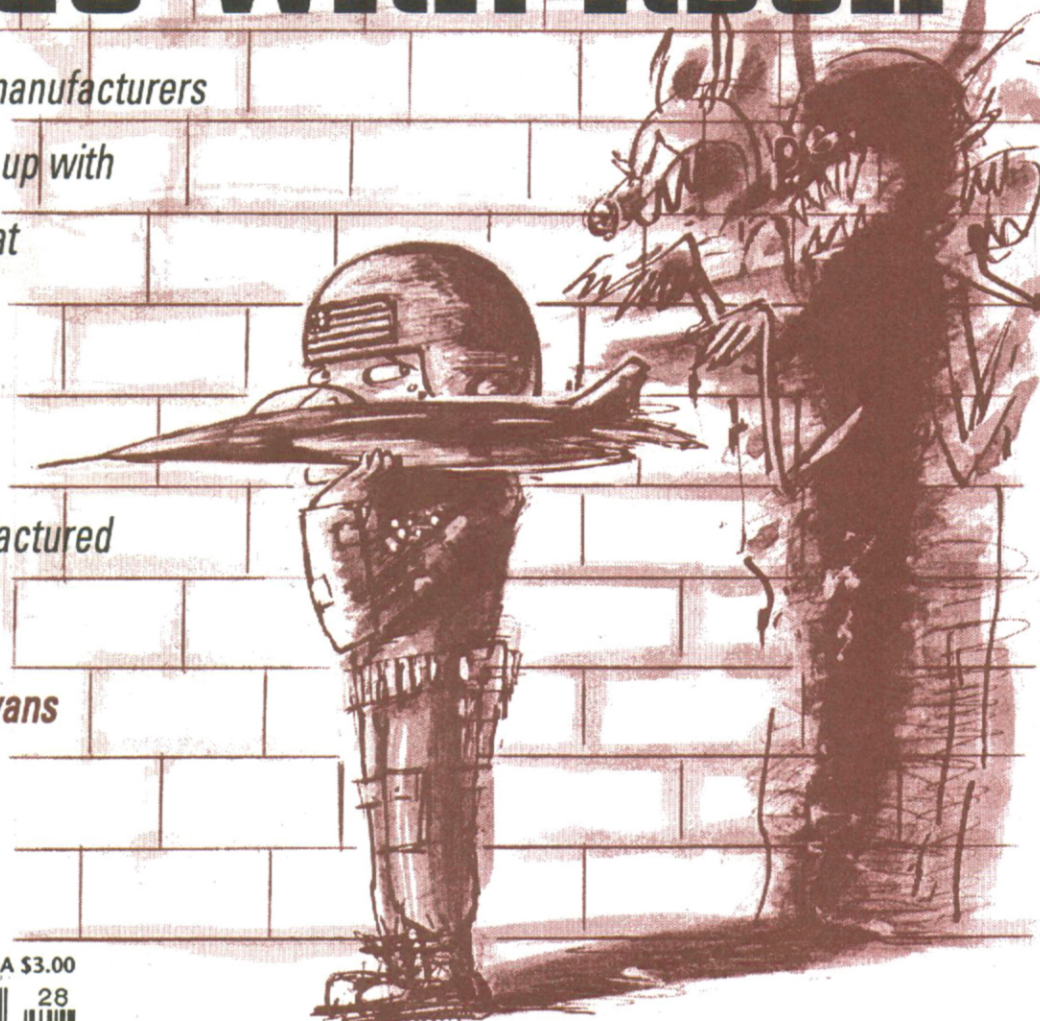
# IN THESE TIMES

the alternative newsmagazine

## America's arms race with itself

*U.S. arms manufacturers  
have come up with  
a new threat  
to justify  
military  
spending:  
U.S.-manufactured  
arms.*

**By David Evans**



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**Also: Seymour Melman and Paul Hockenon  
on arms addictions East and West.**



# EDITORIAL

## WHAT UNIONS AND GAYS HAVE IN COMMON

**T**he greatest triumph of liberal democracy—and the tenet with widest popular support—has been the extension of civil rights and civil liberties. The idea that certain rights—for example, speech, religion, freedom of assembly and political participation—should be guaranteed to every citizen without prejudice is a foundation of American society. It has, however, taken a long battle to defend and expand those rights.

Poverty and inequalities of wealth still hollow out the value of many civil rights. And individual rights alone are hardly answers to many other problems, from the creation of a viable community to reconciling human society and nature. But enlarging the sphere of individual rights is essential for progress toward a better society. Consider two very different fronts, labor rights and gay rights.

**Labor rights:** When employers can permanently replace strikers, workers have virtually lost their legal right to strike. Permanent replacements do not simply shift the balance of power unfairly; they negate fundamental rights to organize and express grievances.

Last month, for example, Caterpillar workers again went on strike after more than two years of working without a contract. They had been forced off a long strike in 1992 when the company threatened to hire permanent replacements for the strikers. Since then the company has harassed

*Members  
of both  
groups are  
denied  
basic civil  
rights.*

and fired union members for even minor displays of union sympathy, amassing 92 unfair labor practice charges from the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB).

The situation at Caterpillar demonstrates why a ban on permanent replacements is needed. Nevertheless, without vigorous support from President Clinton, the

Senate seems unlikely to override a filibuster and pass legislation, as the House has done, barring permanent replacements.

But there are other remedies. The NLRB could show its commitment to civil rights at work by determining that Caterpillar is engaged in a pattern of labor law violation and asking for temporary injunctions returning fired union members to their jobs. The NLRB often uses such powers, with little provocation, against unions—but rarely against employers, no matter how recalcitrant.

Equally important, the administration could strengthen the rights of workers to form unions by making discrimination against workers for union membership a civil rights violation, as attorney Thomas Geoghegan has advocated. This would open the door to stiffer penalties and more legal

challenges that could stem the epidemic of discriminatory firings of union sympathizers. It would also fit with the emerging new strategy to revive the labor movement as a civil rights crusade against abuse of workers.

**Gay rights:** Tolerance of homosexuals has waxed and waned over the centuries and across cultures, yet gays have only recently won the beginnings of civil rights protection against discrimination. Since the Stonewall riots in New York 25 years ago, gays have won greater freedom to openly acknowledge their sexual identity without harassment.

The new openness has contributed to a growing public sentiment that it should be illegal to discriminate against gays. But only eight states have legislation barring discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing and education. And according to a recent Time/CNN poll a 53 percent majority still see homosexual relations among consenting adults as morally wrong.

Conservatives have increasingly seized on the “homosexual menace” to replace the Red scare in their politics of fear, using anti-gay venom in a particularly nasty way to build new right-wing blocs. Yet it should be clear by now that homosexuality, whether based more in biology or in socialization, is not going to disappear. It is part of the human condition. Political repression and denial not only greatly harm gays and lesbians but also hurt society as a whole.

The most important agenda for gay rights in the coming years is the extension of protection against discrimination in jobs (including military service), housing and education, as well as a reversal of anti-sodomy statutes, which are an invasion of privacy rights. Yet however strong the logical or moral case for gay civil rights, the political reality is that winning those rights means persuading a still skeptical public. Given the anxiety for many people surrounding sexuality, not to mention the hostility of some religious and cultural traditions, winning tolerance will be a long, tortuous struggle. Yet the gay rights movement asserts a universal truth that should—and can—be made part of the best of an American political tradition with broad support: individual civil rights.

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 "...with liberty and justice for all"

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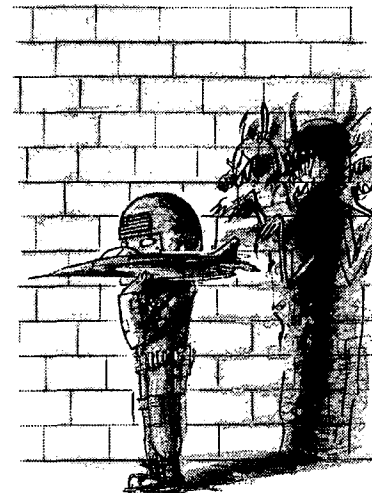
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COVER ILLUSTRATION © PETER HANNAN



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## L E T T E R S

## Population bombing

I should like to applaud your editorial (May 30) calling for an American military invasion to displace the corrupt rulers of Haiti and to end drug smuggling. Haiti, which is overpopulated, is ruining its resources and needs a program of population stabilization.

Raymond Mostek  
Chicago, IL

## Get your guns!

While it's easy to see the apparent threat posed by small arms, Michael T. Klare (*ITT*, June 13) seems to misunderstand the problem. It's not the number of small arms "on the streets," it's the unequal (or, if you prefer, unbalanced) distribution of them. Why did all the nukes of the Cold War not

cause an atomic holocaust? It was because there was a "balance of power": we feared/respected the Soviets and what they might do to us, and vice versa.

Whether it's in Bosnia, Rwanda, the former Soviet Union or the streets of the United States, we see violence with small arms far more often when it's only a fairly small percent of the population that's armed and they are "taking it out" on an unarmed group. Here in the United States, where do we see the highest levels of violence? Where the gun-control laws are such that it's hard for the common citizen to carry a gun for self-defense—where there is no balance of power between the crook and the citizen. Los Angeles, New York, Washington and Chicago are all places that make it very difficult for the common man or woman to legally carry and use what FBI Uniform Crime Report statistics indicate is the single most effective form of self-defense against a violent crime: a gun.

Why was Switzerland not invaded

during World War II? Because every household had at least one military firearm, and many had more than that. It would have been too costly for the Germans to take the country.

Why is the war in Bosnia so full of "ethnic cleansing"? Because the only people with guns are connected to the military or police units, or have taken their guns from same.

How did Somali warlords manage to take all the food from the people? They (and their gangs) were the only ones with the guns. The mothers with starving children would gladly have fought for food to feed those mouths, but they were uniformly unarmed.

Why were many of the gun laws passed in the Deep South and big cities in the late 1800s? It was often to prevent blacks from shooting down KKK members (and the like) during attempted lynchings.

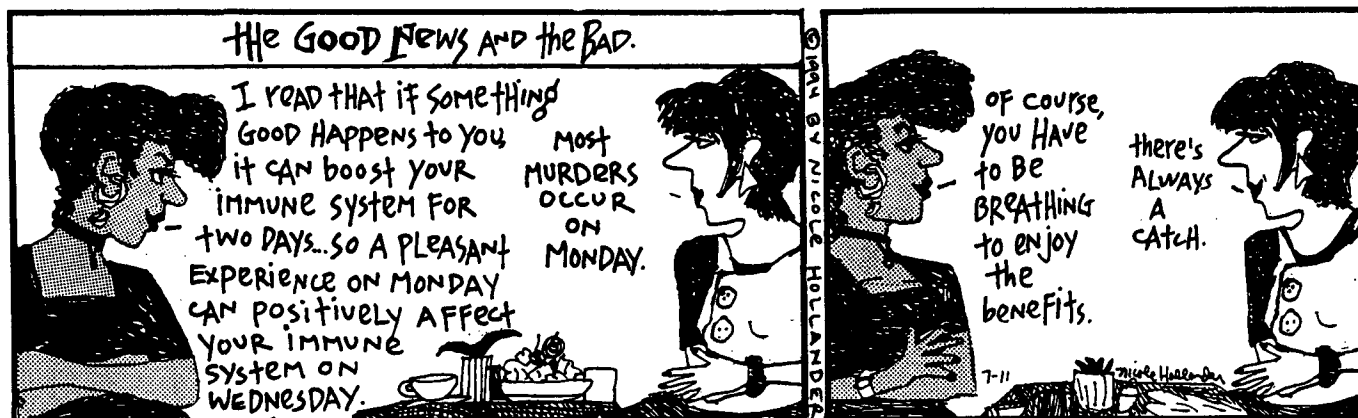
So, I say again, the problem isn't the guns, it's the unreasonable distribution of them only to those groups who are in power—like many of the modern-day gun-control advocates would like to see here in the United States.

Rolf Nelson  
Redmond, WA

*Editor's note: According to FBI officials in Chicago and Washington, D.C., the Uniform Crime Report does not indicate that guns are the most effective means of self-defense against violent crime, nor does the FBI support that conclusion.*

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





## The new ITT T is found implicated in Joel Bleifuss' own personal cover-up.

Don't be left out. Order your ITT T-shirt today. 2-color 100% heavyweight cotton. Sizes M-L-XL. Just \$14.95 (Illinois residents pay \$16.25) Write: ITT T-shirt 2040 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60647

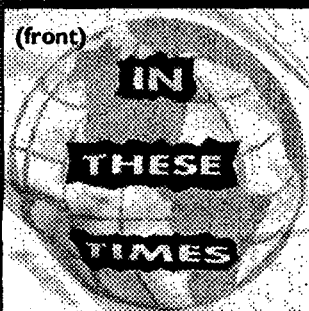


PHOTO BY DAVID SCHULZ

# IN SHORT



## TIME FOR LIMBAUGH TO PLAY FAIR

In his most recent book, *See, I Told You So*, Rush Limbaugh tells his millions of followers, "You know who you are. You are the ones who have the courage to face and believe the truth."

But Limbaugh's "truth" is coming under increasing attack. Last month, President Clinton told radio listeners: "After I get off the radio with you today, Rush Limbaugh will have three hours to say whatever he wants and I won't have any opportunity to respond, and there is no truth detector."

Until now. The media-watchdog group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) recently released "Rush Limbaugh's Reign of Error," a report that details the right-wing talk-show host's record of disinformation.

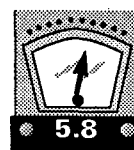
Among the many lies and half-truths FAIR exposes is Limbaugh's claim that the poorest people in America are better off than the middle-class families



By Woody Igou

### Zelig 451

Iranian soccer fans were able to see the World Cup games live for the first time since the Islamic revolution of 1979. Oddly, the sweltering Chicago match crowd scenes showed



spectators wearing winter coats, gloves and hats. Apparently, pre-recorded footage of the "fans" was inserted on time delay by the nation's TV to avoid showing "Un-Islamic scenes" of women wearing shorts or low-cut tops. Next: The all-mullah U.N. delegate pan shot.

### Mouthspeed kills

Famous dragster driver Don "Big Daddy" Garlits, now a Republican congressional candidate in the Tampa, Fla., area, apparently can't leave



"race" alone. In a recent interview, he stated that "white people in this country are not the violent ones." He went on to tell the *Palm Beach Post*: "We need to teach that America is great. People that don't like it should have the FBI

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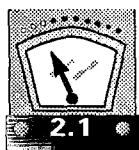


investigate them. Bring them before grand juries and charge them with doing subversive and traitorous activities."

*Diagnostic: Steering's pulling to the right. All gaskets blown. Great shocks, though.*

## Cut-busters

The *Europa Times* reports that a new religion called "Tatsokyo" is sweeping Japan. Followers, estimated at 2 million, are directed to laugh at everything, including floods,



fires and famine. Funerals are also a source of great humor, and as devotee Nansui

Kita noted, "We draw a mustache on the face of the corpse and set fire to the casket if we feel like it."

Meanwhile, scientists at the environmental center in Okayama City, south of Tokyo, have developed a process to turn raw sewage into a substance similar to beef. The scientists have explained that harmful bacteria, when dead, become a rich source of protein. Mixed with soybean and steak sauce, the food product is edible—although spokesman M. Ikeda agreed that "sewage has a slight image problem."

*Serendipity: Japan's emperor recently laughed while touring a McDonald's.*

## APPALL-O-METER SCALE

1. Weightless banality
2. Green Acres stupid
3. Malicious cretinism
4. Howard Sternesque
5. Mary Matalin mean
6. Gangrenous venality
7. A touch of evil
8. A cancer in the Zeitgeist
9. Et tu, Pol Pot?
10. Horseperson of the Apocalypse

of Europe. In fact, the annual income of the poorest 20 percent of Americans is \$5,226, whereas the average income in Germany, France, Britain and Italy is \$19,708.

Limbaugh has consistently rewritten the historical record on his television and radio programs, as in his assertion that "budget figures show actual construction of public housing increased during the Reagan years." FAIR associates Jeff Cohen and Norman Solomon point out, however, that "public housing construction was slashed from more than \$6 billion in 1980 to less than \$700 million in 1988."

Limbaugh displayed selective memory again on January 19, suggesting that "not one indictment" resulted from Lawrence Walsh's Iran-contra investigation. In fact, there were 14 indictments—most of which resulted in either convictions or guilty pleas.

"I do not make things up for the advancement of my cause," Limbaugh once told his radio audience. "And if I find that I have been mistaken or am in error, then I proclaim it at the beginning of a program or as loudly as I can."

Limbaugh's comments, however, have rarely been corrected. Except for the FAIR report and a May 23 *New Republic* article, little has been done to expose Limbaugh's lies. As Cohen and Solomon explain, "[n]o one in the history of American broadcasting has been handed such awesome political power. Day after day, his monologues go unchallenged by any opposing views, facts or figures."

If Limbaugh means to keep his promise, then he should now be proclaiming the errors documented by the FAIR report as loudly as he can. "Given his huge following, Limbaugh knows he has a responsibility to correct the record. And since he makes so many errors," Cohen and Solomon add, "we've volunteered to give him the help he's been begging for."

—Edward Siskel

## LESLIE FAY DRESSES TO KILL U.S. JOBS

More than 1,800 workers employed by the Leslie Fay Dress division have walked off their jobs in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Georgia and New Jersey to protest company plans to relocate U.S. manufacturing operations to Guatemala.

In March 1994, after multiple rulings in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union's (ILGWU) favor by a series of impartial arbitrators, Leslie Fay announced that it would close the Pennsylvania plant. This, despite the fact that business, labor and community groups had banded together in the Northeastern Pennsylvania Stakeholders Alliance and had obtained pledges of grants, low-interest loans and tax-exempt bonds totaling \$3.5 million from the state government to keep Leslie Fay operating in Pennsylvania.

The ILGWU accuses Leslie Fay of bad-faith bargaining and is asking the Justice Department to investigate the company for possible violations of U.S. labor laws and tariff regulations, as well as false financial reporting. Union vice president Susan Cowell says the company filed for bankruptcy last year, at the same time it revealed that its financial reports from 1991 onward had been falsified. Though banks refused to lend money to Leslie Fay, in July

1993, the ILGWU signed a concession agreement with the company in exchange for promises to upgrade U.S. production facilities and to guarantee workers' jobs through May 1995. Since then, Cowell says, Leslie Fay has implemented cost-cutting provisions but has not honored the terms of the agreement that address job security and the upgrading of production technology.

The ILGWU reports that more than 75 percent of Leslie Fay's production already takes place in countries cited by human rights groups for gross violations of workers' rights. The Rev. Tim Wagner, a member of the Stakeholders Alliance, received a less than friendly welcome while touring existing Leslie Fay worksites in Guatemala. He said that entrances to five plants he tried to visit were blocked by uniformed guards with sawed-off shotguns, and when he attempted to enter one factory during a lunch break, the manager slammed the door in his face and chained it.

Though Korean-owned, the five plants Wagner cited all contract for Leslie Fay. Wagner said the conditions he found there were "deplorable." Most of the workers were young women and girls, many between the ages of 11-14, he said. Workers at the plants told Wagner that when they make mistakes, managers often throw the garments in their faces, slap them and pull their hair. Several workers told Wagner that women who did not meet production quotas were forced to perform sexual favors for management in order to keep their jobs.

Leslie Fay CEO John Pomerantz refused to testify at the June 7 House Education and Labor subcommittee hearings on Leslie Fay. In a letter to subcommittee chairman Rep. Pat Williams (D-MT), Pomerantz wrote, "[T]his is what the NAFTA debate was all about, and that debate is over." But Guatemala is not a party to the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Also testifying was 20-year-old Dorka Diaz, who until six weeks ago was employed by a Leslie Fay contractor in Honduras. Diaz and six of her co-workers were fired for trying to organize a union at Global Fashions in Choloma. Diaz held up a Leslie Fay skirt and told committee members that she and her co-workers were paid 43 cents for producing a garment that was to be sold for \$40 in the United States. She told the committee that a typical work week at Global Fashions was 58 hours, for which she and her co-workers each received \$23.82.

—Fred Gustafson

## POISONING GUATEMALA

**L**oan sharks exact their pound of flesh by twisting arms and breaking kneecaps, and the international scene of high finance can be just as ugly. Pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank ensures that the social and environmental costs of "development" in Guatemala will continue to escalate.

Since the fiscal crisis of the '80s, Guatemala has been under pressure from international lending agencies to embark upon "structural adjustment" to facilitate debt repayment—specifically, to reduce social spending and develop crops for export. During the last 10 years, the U.S. government's Agency for International Development (AID) has spent tens of millions of dollars to promote export agriculture in Guatemala.

## MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

### Hello Spice, goodbye C-SPAN

Cable companies have been publicly howling in pain ever since the Federal Communications Commission started to enforce a 1992 law reining in their rates to consumers. The 1992 Cable Act was an attempt to repair damage done by a 1984 law that had blessed cable's monopoly status and left consumers with high bills, bad service and little diversity of viewpoint.

But don't worry about the cable operators. They have found a new, quick source of revenue: soft-core pornography. Channels with names like Spice 1, Spice 2 and Adam & Eve did good business at a recent trade convention, with deals that let cable operators take a cut of the sex merchandise sold on the channel. One of the reasons the services are so lucrative is that they require no promotion. "Men find these channels, and they find them often," one cable operator told *Variety*.

Jim Kennedy, the CEO of the nation's third-largest cable company, Cox, freely admitted to *Broadcasting* magazine that he ordered "the really jazzy stuff" back on Cox systems after the 1992 law. "I got tired of trying to be a good guy," he said, noting that the Cable Act's rates provisions applied to all cable companies alike. "They didn't consider good operators and bad operators. So I just said, 'The hell with it. It's just a business. Let's make money.'"



And what got bumped to make room for the jazzy stuff? C-SPAN, of course, the service that transmits the doings of the House of Representatives and Senate. C-SPAN is not lucrative, nor is it required by law. It was originally cable's gift to Congress for passing the 1984 Cable Act that blessed the industry's monopolistic grip on the market. C-SPAN has always had a poor-relative relationship to cable operators, who pay a small fee per subscriber for the service. C-SPAN 2 (the Senate), for instance, is carried by far fewer systems than C-SPAN 1.

But in the nine months since the Cable Act was passed, according to the *New York Times*, the service has lost more than 4 million households—not just to make room for soft porn but also, operators claim, to clear out space for broadcast channels, which the new law requires cabling to carry. And in some cases, operators have sacrificed or curtailed public-access channels to make some room for C-SPAN. (Cable Access, a non-profit community service, is also under heavy assault by operators looking for profit centers.)

The normally sphinx-like Brian Lamb, chairman of C-SPAN and a kind of secular saint of public affairs, broke his longstanding speak-no-evil silence by sharing his bad news with the *Times*, but was not daring enough to focus his criticism on cable operators.

Nonetheless, the chairman of his executive committee was happy to point fingers: "You've got to go back to the government that created this problem."

© 1994 Pat Aufderheide

The benefits of such development for the people of Guatemala are few. According to recent studies, for every dollar paid for an item on a U.S. supermarket shelf, only one penny goes to the Guatemalan farmer. The rest goes to shippers, wholesalers and retailers, and to the ever-growing agrochemical industry. Meanwhile, the shift away from traditional agriculture means that many Guatemalans will lose access to a cheap and balanced diet.

But the costs of development are not only economic. The AID subsidiary in charge of promoting export agriculture shares offices with GIFAP, the world pesticide manufacturers' business association. Perhaps it should come as no surprise that the expansion of the agro-export sector in Guatemala has been accompanied by increasing pesticide use and abuse.

The pesticides used in Guatemala contain lethal doses ranging from a gram to a few ounces. Farmers mix the substances in makeshift containers, and the young men and pregnant women who carry the pesticides in leaky backpack containers are wholly unprotected from the clouds they pump out. People store leftovers in beer bottles at home, on a shelf or under the bed, where it is all too easy to accidentally drink the contents, or take them in suicide attempts. Village health workers say that pesticide poisonings are one of the worst scourges that they have to confront. In a place like Guatemala, that's saying a lot.

Unfortunately, Guatemala is not alone in facing epidemic pesticide poisonings. More than 95 percent of the world's pesticide poisonings occur in developing countries, while they consume less than 25 percent of the total agricultural product. Meanwhile, the developed world, especially the United States, rakes in the profits from the ever-expanding multibillion-dollar industry.

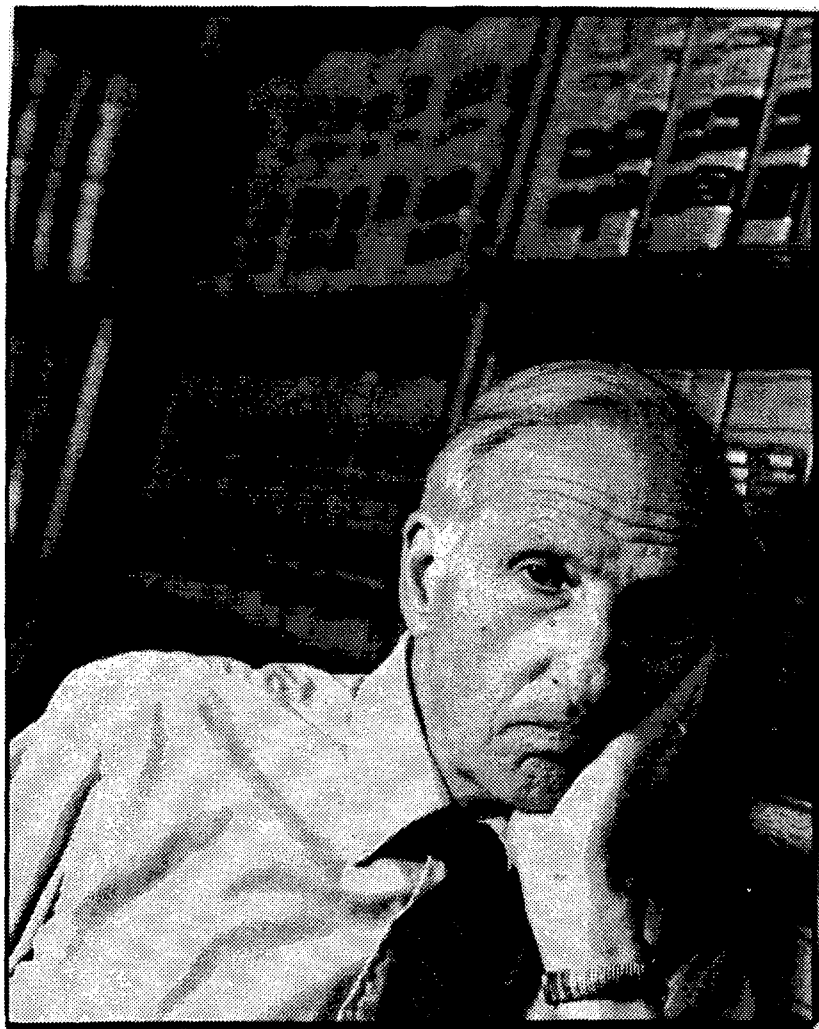
—Bruce Barrett

## Tomorrow's News Tonight

By Steve Brodner



## I N P E R S O N



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COURTLY  
CRUSADER

*Alexander Polikoff fights  
for the public interest*

tration and defeat in stride. Not that the Chicago-based group hasn't had its share of triumphs. Last September, BPI ended 10 years of litigation against the Illinois power giant Commonwealth Edison with a settlement that ensured a \$339 million annual rate reduction as well as a record \$1.34 billion electricity-rate refund to consumers.

Polikoff's personal favorite is a housing discrimination case, *Gautreaux vs. Chicago Housing Authority*, that he helped to file against the Chicago Housing Authority when he was still a lawyer in private practice.

*Gautreaux* argued that the Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) placement of virtually all public housing in black ghettos was a violation of Title VI and the equal protection clause of the

Alexander Polikoff won't take credit for his optimistic outlook. "It's genetic," he says. In his 24-plus years as executive director of Business and Professional People for the Public Interest (BPI) that optimism has helped Polikoff take frustra-

## E T C .

By Miles Harvey

## Shades of green

A rift between mainstream and grass-roots environmental groups—outlined in the March 21 edition of *In These Times*—appears to be growing. The latest fallout comes in the Pacific Northwest, where a suit filed by 12 environmental groups had led to a 1991 injunction that virtually halted logging on millions of acres of forest land. The land is home to the endangered northern spotted owl.

Last month, U.S. District Judge William Dwyer lifted his earlier injunction. He ruled that a Clinton administration compromise plan, which allowed limited logging at federal forests in the Northwest, addressed the concerns raised by the suit. Under heavy pressure from the administration, 11 of the 12 original plaintiffs—including the National Audubon Society, the Wilderness Society, the Oregon Natural Resources Council, four local Audubons and their counsel, the Sierra Club Legal Defense fund—had signed off on the compromise.

But the deal left some environmental groups crying "sell-out." One of the groups that opposed lifting the injunction was the Forest Conservation Council, one of the original plaintiffs. Another was the Oregon-based Native Forest Council, whose executive director, Tim Hermach, told the *Portland Oregonian* that the compromise had "set the environmental movement back 20 years." He and others are hoping new lawsuits will stop the Clinton plan. Central to the rift is the relationship between the big



mainstream environmental groups—desperate for access to power after 12 years of Republican administrations—and a White House that claims to be environment-friendly.

As the *Oregonian's* Kathie Durban explained, "Many grass-roots activists believe that this new 'friendly' administration has co-opted their movement." Indeed, it's not clear what having friends in high places has done for groups like the Sierra Club and the National Audubon Society. The Interior Department, for example, virtually extorted a concession out of the spotted owl plaintiffs, threatening to push congressional action in order to get around the injunction.

Andy Kerr of the Natural Resources Council called agreeing to the compromise, "the most difficult piece of political calculus I've been involved with."

But Hermach believes that's the kind of math environmentalists should stay clear of.

"It's OK for politicians to compromise," he said. "It's not OK for us."

As a frustrated Kerr confessed, "I miss George Bush."

## Rebels with a pause

In one week last month more than 100,000 young Americans pledged to "just say no" to sex before marriage. The campaign among Southern Baptist teenagers is being pushed as an act of rebellion. These "new young puritans [like] defying the expectations of their parents, many of them graduates of the free love generation," writes journalist Jonathan Freedland.

Constitution. *Gautreaux* is still alive and well in its remedial phase, including the development of scattered-site housing and a well-publicized Section 8 rent-subsidy program, which allows eligible families to "escape" the ghetto for communities in other areas of Chicago and its suburbs where more work is available.

Asked which loss he most regrets, Polikoff smiles and says he has two or three. One is a case brought against the National Realtors Association to help further integration through affirmative marketing. "The court agreed with us that it was legal to take race-conscious steps to reach out to the group least likely to apply for available housing, but the court declined to compel realtors to include this kind of marketing in multiple listings. We were right and they were wrong," says Polikoff, "but we lost anyway."

Polikoff was born, raised and educated in Chicago. As a law student he hung around American Civil Liberties Union board meetings, where he eventually took an official seat. In 1970, after 17 years in private practice with the firm of Schiff, Hardin and Waite, he was persuaded by a good friend to come over to BPI, founded a year earlier by Chicago businessman Gordon Sherman. Polikoff says he wasn't weary of private practice. He did a lot of pro bono work and enjoyed the mix. Still, he says, "Moving over here was one of the luckiest things that ever happened to me."

When asked to talk about himself, and then about BPI, Polikoff says one is inextricably tied with the other. He works long hours, doing a lot of his most creative work at night and on weekends. His satisfaction comes from the knowledge that he is "reasonably good" at the "lawyering" part of the work, as well as from his faith in the rightness of his cause.

Polikoff has done a lot of thinking about the seemingly intractable problem of poverty, particularly in the inner city. He ascribes the barbarism and brutality of ghetto life directly to lack of employment. "There's something in men and women that demands work," Polikoff says, quoting Alfred Adler, who said that to be unemployed is to be excluded from the human community. Polikoff believes the obvious answer is some kind of massive jobs program, relying on support from both the private and public sectors.

*Gautreaux* addresses the issue through the deconcentration of poverty. Families receiving *Gautreaux* subsidies (more than 5,200 to date) have often been successful in finding employment in new communities, where jobs are more available. Many such families are headed by single mothers, who willingly brave what Polikoff calls the "vast isolation" of the suburbs in exchange for escape from the inner city.

The rent-subsidy program that grew out of the *Gautreaux* case will this year become a six-city federal demonstration program called Moving to Opportunity. It will be administered by HUD and funded with \$70 million in start-up appropriations.

Polikoff allows himself to fantasize about the extension of *Gautreaux* to the national level, enabling the integration of hundreds of thousands of poor inner-city families into working communities outside the ghetto. He agrees that there are powerful political forces opposing any large-scale scattered-site public housing program, as well as any significant public jobs program. Polikoff is a realist as well as an optimist.

"I don't think it can happen politically today, but I don't know about tomorrow or the next day. I'm not hopeful, but I'm not without hope."

—Susan Kimmelman

# THE FIRST STONE

## October Surprise, still unfolding

By Joel Bleifuss

New evidence supports allegations that the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign cut a deal with Iran to ensure that 52 American hostages would continue to be held until after the U.S. election, thus contributing to Jimmy Carter's defeat.

This new information further undermines the conclusion reached last year by the House of Representatives' October Surprise Task Force that no deal was made. (See "The First Stone," Feb. 8 and Feb. 22, 1993.) And it raises new doubts about the integrity of that investigation, led by chief counsel Lawrence Barcella. Key evidence in the January 1993 report contradicted the investigation's final conclusion, and other avenues were left unexplored.

For example, Barcella failed to investigate allegations that prior to the 1980 election, the Republican camp met with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to get help in arranging for the hostages to be held until after the election. This allegation was first raised in the September 1988 *Playboy*, which quoted PLO spokesman Bassam Abu Sharif as saying that "one of Reagan's closest friends and a major financial contributor to the campaign said he wanted the PLO to use its influence to delay the release of the American hostages from the embassy in Teheran until after the election."

Robert Parry, in his 1990 reporting on the October Surprise for the PBS documentary series *Frontline*, asked Sharif if the Reagan-Bush campaign had contacted him. As Parry notes in his book *Trick or Treason*, Sharif responded by saying: "I can't go into details, but I can tell you that, yes, someone contacted us from the Reagan group. That was during the campaign. ... The issue of the hostages at that time was very, very sensitive and very delicate, and it seems it was important for Reagan not to have any of the hostages released during the remaining days of President Carter. But

the PLO refused utterly to deal with such a proposal."

When pressed, Sharif said that he met the Reagan campaign official in Beirut, but that was all he could say. "I checked with my president [Arafat] on the issue, and I didn't get the okay to talk about the details. I know the details would mean probably a big scandal to some people in the United States, but I'm not going to talk about it, because I'm not authorized." And he added, "We have proof of what I have told you."

Arafat himself recently confirmed that the Reagan-Bush campaign had contacts with the PLO prior to the election. Journalist Richard Fricker interviewed Arafat last December for an *American Bar Association Journal* article. "It was a private interview," says Fricker. "After we had finished everything I asked if I could ask a question

off the subject concerning the October Surprise allegations. I asked if representatives of Ronald Reagan's campaign ever came to see Arafat prior to the election. And he said, 'Yes, they came to see me in Beirut.' That is the only question I got to ask, but from talking to other members of the PLO leadership, I got the most definite impression that there had been contact between the Reagan camp and the PLO regarding the hostages."

Barcella's investigators did not bother pursuing this lead, explaining that Sharif "never made himself available for an interview." But Sharif, a PLO spokesman, is not a difficult man to reach.

In the report, Barcella suggested that a Republican attempt to "steal" a presidential election by seeking to prolong the incarceration of fellow American citizens by foreign terrorists [would be] little short of treachery. If true, it would not only call into question the legitimacy of an entire presidency, but expose a series of heinous acts unparalleled in the history of the American political system. While such conduct might be expected in certain dark corners of the world, it would be wholly beyond the wildest excesses in our constitutional history."

Really? Barcella should look back to the Nixon presidency, during which he served as a lawyer in the U.S. Attorney's Office in Washington, D.C. As Jack Colhoun reported in the June 13 *In These Times*, the Nixon campaign apparently pulled its own October Surprise in 1968, derailing the Vietnam peace talks to undermine the Democratic White House. As a new book by Nixon's former chief of staff H.R. Halde- man reveals, one of Nixon's co-conspirators back in 1968 was a man who has traversed the geopolitics of the last quarter-century without the benefit of a moral compass—Henry Kissinger.

Nixon's dark prince also appeared as a player 10 years



later during the hostage crisis and the 1980 presidential campaign. At that time, Kissinger was working for his long-time employer, the Rockefeller family. In 1979, Kissinger (with the help of David Rockefeller) convinced the Carter administration to let the ailing shah into the United States. This move was strongly opposed by U.S. diplomats in Teheran. (Kissinger, ever the masterful dissembler, blamed Carter for the whole affair, denying his own role.)

When Carter allowed the shah into the United States, angry Iranian students swarmed the U.S. embassy and took the staff hostage. That move was in turn followed by Carter's decision to freeze Iranian assets in the United States—which, perhaps not coincidentally, proved to be the salvation of the Rockefeller-owned Chase Manhattan Bank. The bank held large deposits of Iranian money, and had made large loans to Iran. Chase officials feared that Iran would withdraw its funds and then default on its loans, leaving the bank with what a House Banking Committee report described as “serious earnings problems.” But when Carter froze Iranian assets, Iran was unable to keep up with its loan payments, which in turn allowed Chase to declare Iran in default and seize all of its assets.

According to a House Banking Committee report, some financial analysts believe that Kissinger and the Rockefellers, acting in the best interests of Chase Manhattan, “engineered a freeze by convincing the government to permit the shah to come to the United States knowing that the act would precipitate violence in Iran and make a freeze inevitable.”

New evidence indicates that in October of 1980, Kissinger met secretly with Reagan-Bush campaign director William Casey (who, just a year earlier, had been a lawyer for the shah's Pahlavi Foundation). Casey's chauffeur has told reporters that he picked up Kissinger twice that month. In both instances, Casey personally escorted his visitor into the building so that Kissinger's name would not appear on the visitor's log, according to the chauffeur. One of the meetings reportedly took place before regular business hours at Reagan campaign headquarters in suburban Virginia. What the two men discussed will never be known: Casey is a dead liar and Kissinger a living one. Barcella was apparently not interested in examining the potential Kissinger involvement.

The assets frozen in 1979 are still in dispute. Early last month, Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani publicly accused the United States of reneging on a deal he claims to have made in

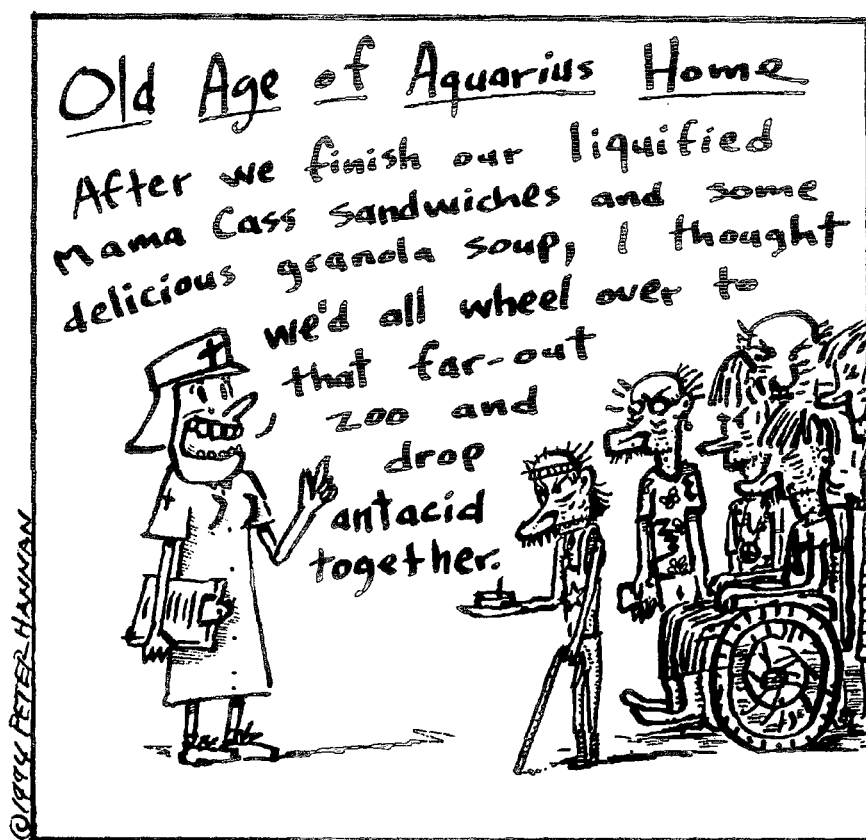
1991 with the Bush administration. Rafsanjani says the White House, working through then-U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, agreed to release “our assets” in return for the release of 10 Western hostages held in Lebanon. (He says those assets come to \$11 billion; Washington says the total is only \$1 billion.) The U.S. government has never admitted to taking part in such a deal. But in late 1991, the Bush administration did release \$278 million to Iran. It also absolved Iran of any connection to the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland.

“Was Bush's absolution of the mullahs a condition of the hostage deal?” asks a *Boston Globe* editorial. We may never know. The Clinton administration is apparently making no attempt to reopen any inquiries into the covert foreign policies of its GOP predecessors.

Instead, the administration seems content to rely on the pronouncements of the *Washington Post* and defer to the wisdom of omnipresent insiders like Barcella. The *Post* spent the '80s avoiding any examination of the Reagan and Bush administration's extra-constitutional dabblings. And Barcella, working as an assistant U.S. attorney, gave the Reagan Pentagon advice on how to legally circumvent the Arms Export Control Act. Perhaps Clinton has no time to worry about what happened yesterday. He's busy “thinking about tomorrow.”

## THE ADVENTURES OF A HUGE MOUTH

by Peter Hannan



**A R M S   C O N T R O L**

# Catch F-22

# W

***U.S. arms  
manufacturers  
have found  
a new threat  
to justify  
military  
spending:  
U.S.-  
manufactured  
arms.***

**By David Evans**

elcome to the strange new world of the Blue/Grey Threat—a world in which the United States is competing in an arms race with its allies, its friends and, ultimately, itself.

Back in the Cold War days, of course, the Red Threat was always used to justify massive American military spending and large-scale exports of U.S. weapons. But with the Soviet Union's collapse, the Pentagon and the arms industry have had to find new potential adversaries. Thus, the Blue/Grey Threat was born. Now arms manufacturers are warning of the dangers posed by governments that are today either U.S. allies ("blue") or friends ("grey")—but that might one day take the superb military hardware that the United States has been selling them and use it against U.S. forces.

The first prominent use

of the Blue/Grey Threat to justify a big arms project comes in a slick, full-color marketing brochure produced by the Lockheed Corp. in association with the Boeing Co. and engine maker Pratt & Whitney. The three contractors are distributing the brochure to key staff members and legislators on Capitol Hill as their F-22 supersonic fighter project comes up for its next booster shot of bucks, some \$3 billion in the Pentagon's requested fiscal 1995 defense budget. The program is now in the final stages of development.

The F-22, which could cost U.S. taxpayers upwards of \$70 billion, is a strangely anachronistic airplane: it is arguably both ahead of its time and out of date. On the one hand, this new generation of fighter offers what Lockheed describes as a "quantum leap in technology," including stealth (which allows the plane to fly undetected past enemy radar) and supercruise (which enables the aircraft to fly efficiently at supersonic speeds for long periods of time). On the other hand, the F-22 is being developed for a battle situation that no longer exists.

"The F-22 was developed for a highly specialized mission: offensive counter-air. It was designed to penetrate into Russia and break up their mass fighter formations before they got rolling to overwhelm NATO," explains Everest Riccioni, a retired Air Force colonel who was part of the now-famous "fighter-mafia" that designed the F-15 and F-16 fighters.

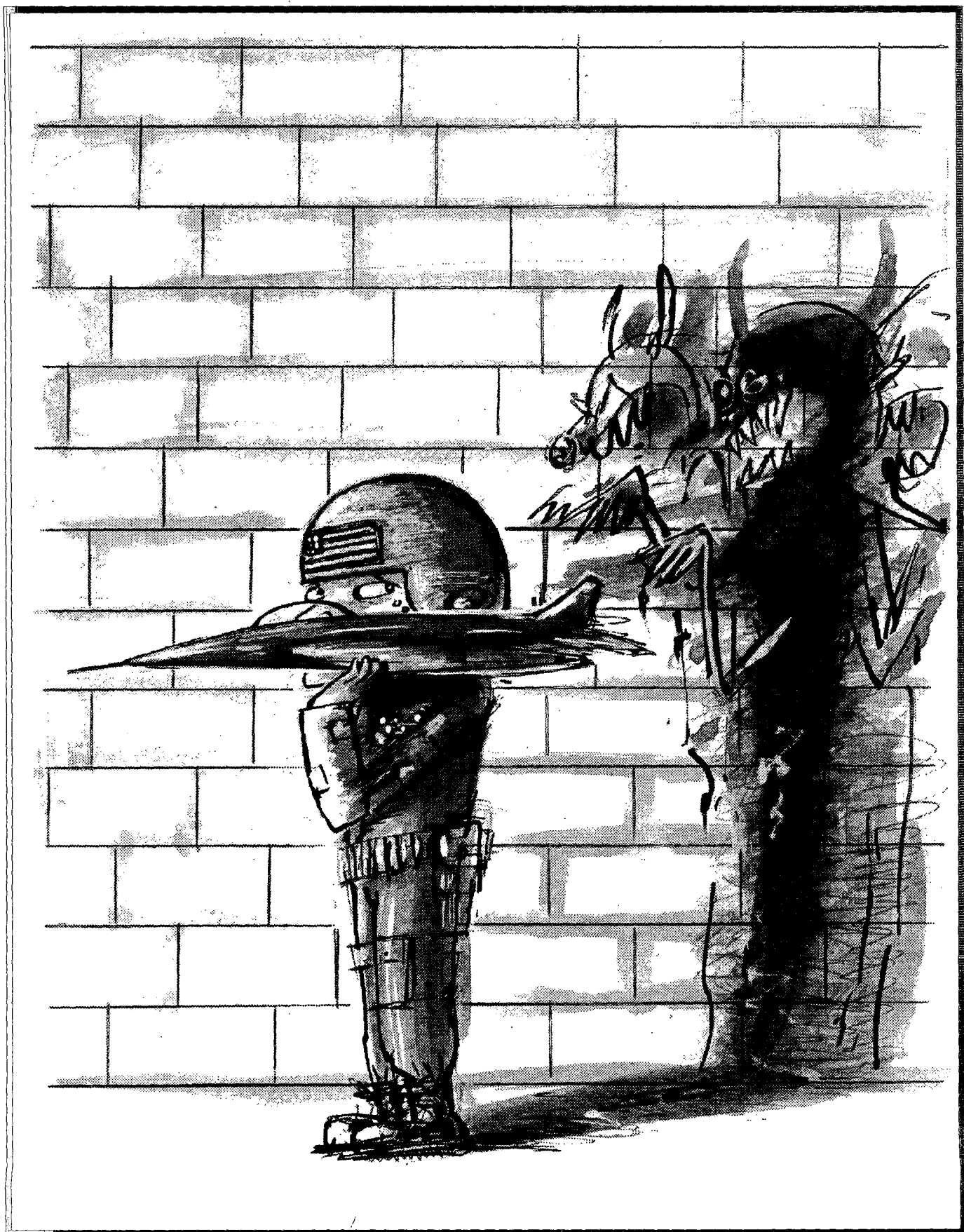
That mission died with the Cold War—and so should the plane, argue critics such as Riccioni. But with billions of dollars at stake, Lockheed and the F-22's other contractors aren't giving up so easily. They haven't totally abandoned the notion of a future threat from Russia or from Russian-built aircraft. But they are also stressing the looming danger posed by foreign-owned American-made fighter planes such as the F-16.

Indeed, according to Lockheed's booklet, the United States has exported top-line fighters like the F-16 to more countries (26) than the former Soviet Union exported its hottest combat jets to (15). In the Lockheed view, the Cold War standoff has given way to an increasingly uncertain world, where the potential for conflict is greater, not less. Countries like, say, Egypt, are part of a new so-called "grey" category of nations armed with advanced fighters such as the American-built F-16 that could become potential foes.

"We've sold the F-16 fighter all over the world; what if one of those blue/grey countries turns against us?" says a Lockheed official who was involved in the production of the pamphlet.

The Lockheed official may mean "we" quite literally. Lockheed not only manufactures the F-16; it also continues





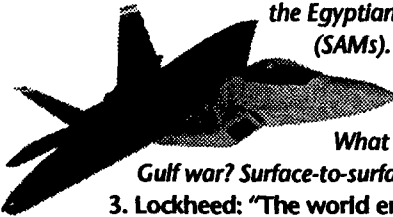
© PETER HANNAN

## Myths of the F-22

Members of Congress should be wary of Lockheed's brochure pushing for new funding of the F-22. The pamphlet contains many distortions. Let's explore a few of them.

1. The Lockheed pamphlet quotes Air Force Col. John A. Warden III as saying, "Since the German attack on Poland in 1939, no country has won a war in the face of enemy air superiority, [and] no major offensive has succeeded against an opponent who controlled the air."

*The assertion is selective history; it ignores North Vietnam's ultimate victory in the Vietnam War in the face of overwhelming U.S. air power, and Mao's victory over Chiang Kai Shek in the Chinese civil war. Chiang, too, had air superiority (we gave it to him). In 1973, the Egyptians crossed the Suez Canal, and maintained local air superiority with their surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). It doesn't necessarily take airplanes to achieve air superiority.*



2. Lockheed: "No U.S. ground soldier has been killed by enemy air power in 40 years."

*What about the 28 U.S. soldiers killed by the Iraqi Scud missile that hit Dahran in the 1991 Persian Gulf war? Surface-to-surface missiles are, after all, a form of air power.*

3. Lockheed: "The world environment is increasingly uncertain."

*Retired Air Force Col. Everest Riccioni argues that "[t]he world was very unstable during the era of the Cold War. The instability was made visible by the Cuban missile crisis. The incidence of visible fire fights that don't involve big issues among powerful protagonists does not measure instability. Despite the large number of fire fights in the world, I believe there is more stability in the world today, not less."*

4. Lockheed: "The United States must be able to dominate in combat situations that will most likely pit a few U.S. planes against many adversary fighters."

*Who else has more numbers than the United States? But Lockheed's point is hardly an argument for the F-22. As Jim Stevenson, author of The Pentagon Paradox, explains, "In the history of air-to-air warfare, numbers always prevail over technology. You'd be better off buying more F-16s than F-22s. You can have at least four F-16s for the price of one F-22."*

5. Lockheed: "The F-22 fighter will act as a conventional deterrent to potential aggressors for decades to come."

*If F-22s were based at Aviano, Italy, would the combatants in the Balkans stop? The United States has total air superiority in the Balkans and yet is unable to stop the fighting there.*

6. Lockheed: "The annual cost of operating the F-22 will be 30 percent less than that of the F-15."

*A similar claim was made for the F-15 when it was being touted as cheaper to operate than the F-4 Phantom it was being built to replace. The F-15 has turned out to be more expensive to operate than the F-4.*

7. Lockheed: "The F-22 is affordable in a declining defense budget."

*In a 1991 paper about the F-22, Pentagon analyst Franklin C. Spinney wrote: "The integrating contractor, Lockheed, has not designed and mass-produced a fighter since the mid-'50s (i.e., the F-104). Lockheed's plant in Georgia has a history of cost overruns and quality-control problems producing comparatively simple, large, subsonic transports. Our only experience with contractor teaming in a complex tactical aircraft, the A-12, just collapsed in failure."*

- D.E.

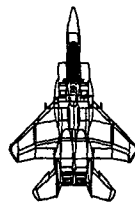
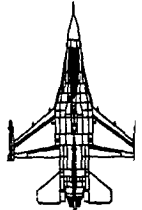
to export this "threat" to countries across the globe. Now Lockheed is arguing that the Lockheed-made F-22 is the only thing that can keep the United States safe from the Lockheed-made F-16 and other high-performance fighters. The Lockheed brochure even touts the F-22's ability to evade Lockheed-built air defense system radars.

"Lockheed's booklet says there's all this weapons proliferation, so we'll come up with a superweapon that everyone will want to emulate," observes G. Murphy Donovan, a retired lieutenant colonel who served in Air Force intelligence. "The F-22 could mark another loop in the proliferation spiral. In that sense, this pamphlet is an excellent pitch for arms control, not for another weapon."

Critics such as Riccioni and Donovan point out that even if American jets now in foreign hands do, in some cases, prove to be a legitimate threat, there's a cheaper alternative

for keeping them in check: the United States could stop selling countries the vital spare parts needed to keep these planes in flying condition.

Nonetheless, the blue/gray argument is apparently finding receptive ears at the Pentagon. The Lockheed official says that the booklet's threat analysis had to meet a Pentagon "sanity test" before publication—meaning that the Department of Defense

	
<b>F-15</b>	<b>F-16</b>
<b>327</b>	<b>1,210</b>

has signed off on Lockheed's logic. According to Lockheed, the potential fighter threats facing U.S. air forces number nearly 6,000 aircraft in 46 countries—not just the Soviet-built MiG-29s in North Korea, but the U.S.-designed F-16s in South Korea.

Indeed, an Air Force officer in the F-22 program office agrees with Lockheed's dark view of potential threats. The officer cites the brochure's foldout map, which shows countries—some of them allies—that possess first-class fighters. "I cannot determine the intent of any of these countries 15-20 years from now," he says.

By this reasoning, America needs the F-22 fighter to win some highly unlikely future air battles—against Canada's U.S.-built F-18s, for example. Yet even against more likely enemies, the F-22 may not be necessary.

In its recent "Bottom-Up Review" the Pentagon identified six "rogue nations" that threaten the United States—Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Cuba and North Korea. But, together, these countries "probably couldn't put more than 100 sophisticated jets like the MiG-29s they have into the air," says Tom Cardamone, editor of *Arms Trade News*, a monthly newsletter published by the Council for a Livable World to highlight the problem of weapons proliferation. "The threat as defined by the Pentagon's Bottom-Up Review doesn't justify the F-22," says Cardamone.

Further, these "rogue" nations haven't demonstrated the ability to operate effectively in the air. "Giving a high-tech weapon to a Third World country does not equate to equal capability on a plane-for-plane basis," says Donovan. He argues that poor maintenance and inept air combat tactics severely undercut the performance potential of a fighter like the MiG-29. "You can dress a pig like a ballerina," he says, "but it's still a hog."

The 1991 Persian Gulf war is a perfect example. In a recent paper on the air campaign against Iraq, RAND Corp. military analyst Benjamin Lambeth noted, "In air-to-air combat, coalition forces (mainly United States Air Force F-15s) shot down 35 Iraqi fighters with no confirmed friendly losses."

Of course, F-22 proponents haven't forgotten the Red Threat, either. They are now trumpeting the dangers posed by an advanced Russian fighter, somewhat clumsily

dubbed the Multi-Role Fighter Interceptor, or MRI. It's slated to debut at roughly the same time as the F-22 will attain operational status, in the year 2004.

Yet Jim Stevenson, author of *The Pentagon Paradox*, a 1993 book on the history of the F-18 fighter and the development of U.S. fighters in general, says the supposedly fearsome MRI appears to be little more than an improved version of a Russian jet already flying—the Su-27, an agile, twin-jet fighter comparable to the U.S. F-15.

"I'm not sure we need a completely new aircraft like the F-22 to deal with an upgraded Su-27, which already is the biggest target in the sky," Stevenson says.

He points out that the Su-27 is larger than the F-15. And, given the fighter pilot's axiom that "first sight wins the fight," Stevenson says it's "better to be smaller."

Donovan is also skeptical about a resurgent Red Threat. "The Russians can't do much; they're looking to build washing machines, not fighters," he says.

As Riccioni puts it, "We have enough air superiority planes and competent pilots in the Air Force to conquer the known world."

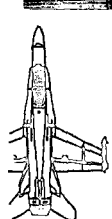
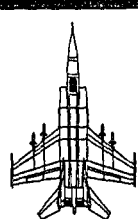
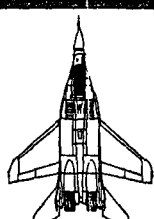
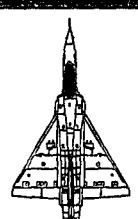
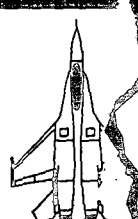
Riccioni is further frustrated by the Lockheed brochure's attempt to convince Congress of the F-22's ability to attack ground targets. He points out that the plane was originally intended to battle other airplanes, not conduct bombing attacks. "The primary mission is gone, so now they're repackaging the F-22 for an air-to-ground role," he says, adding that the plane's technology is particularly ill-suited for this mission.

Even as an air-to-air fighter, the F-22 may not prove that much superior to other planes now flying, according to Riccioni, Stevenson and others.

So why is the F-22 still alive on Capitol Hill? For a good clue, one needs only to turn to page 26 of the Lockheed pamphlet. At the bottom of the page is what amounts to a pork-distribution map, showing the states—some 42 in all—in which F-22 subcontractors or suppliers are located. The pamphlet also reminds legislators that some 27,000 jobs are directly at stake.

Yet with the pork comes a huge price tag for U.S. taxpayers. The cost problem is even affecting the U.S. Air Force, where the F-22's high price has already shot down 200

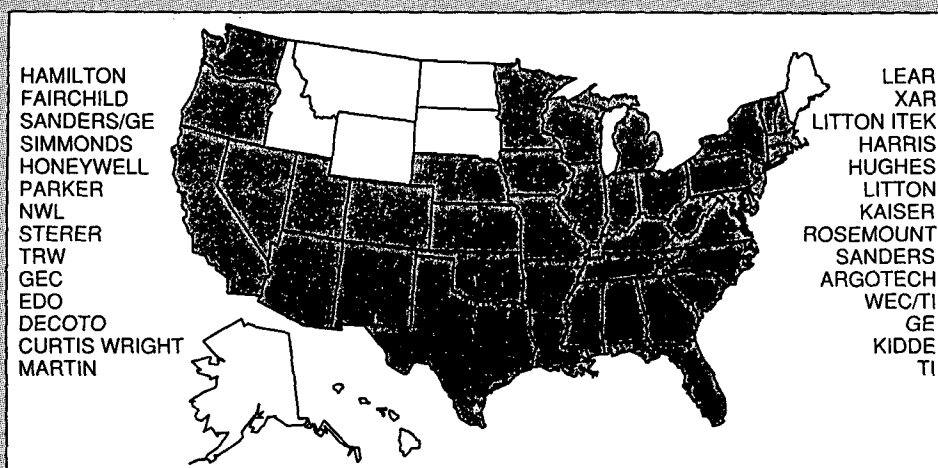
## Quantities of Foreign-Owned Advanced Fighters

				
<b>F-18</b>	<b>MiG-25/31</b>	<b>MiG-29</b>	<b>Mirage 2000</b>	<b>Su-27</b>
<b>267</b>	<b>1,443</b>	<b>919</b>	<b>349</b>	<b>380</b>

Lockheed's brochure uses slick graphics to back up its warning that "sophisticated fighter airplanes ... are being sold around the world." It doesn't mention that Lockheed itself is making and selling one of the popular models of these planes, the F-16.



- Direct employment on the F-22 program is planned to peak at 27,000 jobs. Additional, indirect employment benefitting from the F-22 program is estimated at between 68,000 and 108,000 jobs.



The F-22 is an investment in world technological and manufacturing leadership.

In an effort to sell the F-22 to Congress, Lockheed's brochure includes what amounts to a pork-distribution map. Only eight states have no jobs at stake.

better U.S. plane to guard against the Blue/Grey Threat.

Nonetheless, proliferation seems inevitable. Although there are no current plans to export the F-22, influential blue/grey countries are expected to lobby hard to obtain the plane. "Of course, the Israelis will want it, and if they get an export version of the F-22, the Saudis will

planned airplanes. The Air Force originally hoped to acquire 750 planes, but to cut the cost from \$96 billion to about \$72 billion, production will be limited to just 442 F-22s. As such, the new fighters will cost about \$162 million apiece, including the cost of initial spare parts and such, making the F-22 at least twice, perhaps three times, as expensive as any tactical jet now flying.

Air Force officers say when the development and spare parts costs are sheared away, the so-called "flyaway" cost of the F-22 will average around \$61 million per plane. And that price, they say, isn't much more than the estimated \$47 million price per plane of building more F-15 fighters over the same period that the F-22 is slated for production.

But these optimistic predictions must be viewed cautiously. The production version of the F-22 hasn't been finalized. Who knows what it will cost? And the average price assumes a certain "learning curve" in production, in which manufacturing costs decline as more planes are produced. That was supposed to happen with the F-15 too, and didn't. Unit costs *increased* through the 800th production aircraft, and the 1,000th F-15 was more expensive than the first. In the end, some experts think the F-22's price tag will exceed \$200 million per plane. As Riccioni puts it, "The F-22 will completely bankrupt the Air Force."

Lockheed and Air Force officials, of course, disagree with such assessments. But internal Pentagon documents indicate the Air Force would have to "decline precipitously" in size to afford equipping a much smaller force with costly aircraft like the F-22.

Yet, ironically, this high price tag may eventually limit foreign sales of the F-22—thus slowing the need for an even

want it, too," says one source close to the situation who requested anonymity. More nations could follow.

While the Israelis may be able to operate complex aircraft like the F-22, Donovan isn't sure other foreign nations can do likewise. "Arms sales may be the biggest fraud in the world today, because these countries cannot maintain such aircraft, and they cannot operate or fine-tune the necessary command and control," he says. "It's like selling them a Rolls Royce with nothing under the hood."

The buying countries wind up with what might be called "Potemkin village" air forces. They've got the jets, "rubber on the ramp," as the saying goes in the U.S. Air Force, but not much in terms of the real measures of air power, where pilot skills, maintenance, command and control, and operational initiative still predominate.

Thus, Donovan believes that the proliferation of advanced combat aircraft to nations like, say, Syria or Iraq isn't necessarily the gloomy threat portrayed in Lockheed's F-22 pamphlet. These nations often cannot operate what they're buying.

And for the West, he quips darkly, "it means we get to go and have target practice once in a while."

David Evans is a former U.S. Marine Corps lieutenant colonel, who served as a military readiness and budget expert in the Pentagon. More recently, he was the *Chicago Tribune's* military correspondent. His cover story on the U.S. economy's increasing dependence on foreign arms sales appeared in the Nov. 15, 1993 issue of *In These Times*.

This story was made possible by a grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

# MILITARY

## The U.S.-Russian conversion crisis

*Continuing  
the Cold War  
economy is  
making both  
societies  
sicker.*

By Seymour Melman

**I**n 1990, as the Cold War drew to a close, a veritable parade of Soviet economists began visiting my office at Columbia University. Two years earlier I had published *Profits Without Production*, a book about U.S. industrial decline. The entire book was based on U.S. data and had little to say about the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the book seemed to possess a mysterious significance for my Soviet guests.

Finally, after a peculiar encounter with one Soviet economist, I learned the

secret of the book's attraction. We had just concluded a lengthy discussion on military conversion in my office, and I offered to walk my Russian guest to the nearest subway. As we emerged from the building, he started speaking with an intensity that surprised me, saying that he and his colleagues were grateful for this book of mine. He explained that Russians had been reading the book as a subtle critique of the Soviet economy.

Though the Russian interpretation of my book was less than accurate, there was no ignoring the significance of their judgment. I realized that many Russians were struck by the implications of my critique of the United States' heavily militarized economy. If the American emphasis on defense production had depleted the richly endowed industry of the United States, then the damaging effects of a permanent war economy on Russian industry and society must have been even more devastating.

Today, the Russian and U.S. societies both suffer the consequences of permanent war economies. But Russia's case is much more

acute. Since 1914 it has suffered the catastrophic effects of repeated wars on its soil: World War I, the Russian Revolution, the post-Revolution civil war and World War II. Furthermore, Russia was an essentially peasant-agrarian society until the rapid industrial development that followed the Second World War.

Still, in both countries, the long-enduring military economies diverted enormous resources away from civilian assets—e.g., factories, homes, machinery, roads, etc. In the United States, from 1947 to 1991, the sum of military budgets (in dollars of 1982 value) amounted to \$8.7 trillion. Compare this to the total value of U.S. industry and infrastructure—again for 1982—of \$7.3 trillion. During the Cold War the U.S. military used up more than enough resources to rebuild nearly all of its civilian asset base. This concentration of assets in the military sphere has prevented modernization not only of U.S. production facilities but also of housing, schools, transportation, waterworks and other public facilities. This is the physical “using up” that lies behind the lack of government money for infrastructure repair.

While comparable statistics for Russia simply do not exist, any visitor can see the decay in the country's principal cities—in civilian industry with ancient equipment and in the quality of streets, sidewalks and housing stock. Medical facilities are grossly

*In 1961, the year President Eisenhower warned of the dangers posed by the U.S. “military-industrial complex,” Professor Seymour Melman began teaching a course at Columbia University on defense conversion—the first ever offered at an American college. Over the next three decades, Melman wrote a series of groundbreaking books that not only tallied the high costs of the Cold War, but also advanced practical programs for conversion to a peacetime economy. Though the Cold War is now over, neither superpower has moved to dismantle its military economy. In These Times has asked Melman, now professor emeritus of industrial engineering at Columbia, to examine the causes of our continuing arms addiction, and to explore solutions to our conversion crisis.*

*This story was made possible by a grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.*



underequipped. During a 1992 visit to Moscow I was stunned by the crumbling buildings at Moscow State University.

The governing establishments of both Russia and the United States have operated on the assumption that the production capacity of each country is so great that high-level production of both guns and butter can continue indefinitely. In the United States, the guns-and-butter dogma was given formal standing in the important National Security Council memorandum number 68 of April 1950. This crucial policy document stated: "One of the most significant lessons of our World War II experience was that the American economy, when it operates at a level approaching full efficiency, can provide enormous resources for purposes other than civilian consumption while simultaneously providing a high standard of living."

The flawed reasoning underlying U.S. government policy was replicated by economists from right to left. They neglected to note that the money and physical capital that would normally have been used to maintain and upgrade the main civilian capital assets was instead used up in the war machine. U.S. civilian facilities could endure the four years of World War II without replacement. But during the half-century Cold War, the civilian capital plant could not conceivably remain intact without major new investment.

The Soviets' confidence in the guns-and-butter dogma was visible as President Mikhail Gorbachev attempted to increase the output of consumer goods while continuing to sustain the military economy.

But by the Gorbachev era, the industries that supplied basic materials—like alloy steels—had become hopelessly antiquated. By 1993 the giant steel industry complex of Magnetogorsk was more than 50 years old; it was an inefficient user of fuel, a poor extractor of iron from its ore, and a massive polluter of air, soil and water. I am advised that a Japanese steel industry team judged that if Russian steel producers adopted state-of-the-art technology, the energy savings would equal the entire output of the country's nuclear power plants.

During a 1959 survey of the Soviet machine-tool industry, I found the Russians were outstanding at introducing quantity-production technologies. Thirty years later the industry lagged far behind world standards. With engineering talent siphoned into the military/space enterprise, the Soviets failed to develop computer-controlled machine-tool technologies. Thus principal industries that supplied basic tools and mate-



rials for both military and civilian products became less able to deliver goods of desired quality.

That was the condition in 1985 as Gorbachev's military formulated a new general policy based on the idea of "sufficiency" rather than on traditional doctrines of superiority, and heralded reductions—at least in the growth—of military budgets. But the new consumer production was to be an *addition* to existing defense manufacturing within the military-industrial firms. Since the Khrushchev period, military-industry firms have been directed to undertake production of various consumer goods. Some firms did civilian work within the same production premises; others had separate factories and organizations under the same top management.

Essentially, Gorbachev's planning for additional civilian output entailed the assumption—soon proved unwarranted—that Soviet military-oriented industries could supply the new means of production required for consumer goods. In short, it was a strategy that assumed the feasibility of guns plus butter during the '90s.

The continuing commitment to this policy by both Russia and the United States can be seen in the graph on page 21 ("Economic overkill"), which displays the ratio of expenditures on new military assets to that for new civilian assets. For the United States, every 100 dollars spent on new civilian assets in 1988 was matched by another 50 dollars devoted to the military. Unlike civilian assets, the objects of military spending—tanks, aircraft carriers, etc.—cannot be used for consumption or to build other goods. The U.S. ratio of military-to-civilian new capital assets, compared to those of Germany and Japan, goes far to account for the inferior condition of U.S. industry and infrastructure.

**The Cold War is over but  
Russia's military economy  
marches on.**



According to data compiled by the now-defunct U.S.S.R. State Committee on Statistics, the Soviets in 1991 spent at least 122 dollars on new military assets for every 100 dollars that they committed to civilian assets. (Because of inconsistencies in the Soviet statistics, it is possible that the Soviet military-to-civilian asset ratio was as high as 370:100.) Even the lowest possible estimate reflects a catastrophic concentration of new Soviet, now Russian, capital assets in activities that do not contribute to civilian production. In 1993 *Izvestia* reported that Russia had more than 80 percent of its industrial workers employed in military industries.

Repair, let alone major upgrading in Russian industrial production, requires conversion of major parts of military industry to peacetime work. While Gorbachev spoke repeatedly of the importance of economic conversion—starting with his December 1988 address at the United Nations—no solid government policy along these lines was ever formulated. The slogan was there but not the content.

National committees were set up to encourage economic conversion in various military-serving facilities. But these bodies had no decision-making powers and were mainly consultative and information units. By 1991 responsibility for conversion was assigned to the Gosplan, the state committee for economic planning.

After a meeting with Gosplan chiefs in the summer of 1991, I asked them to show me how their policy was operating. We visited the design bureau of the Ilyushin aircraft company in Moscow, a facility where civilian and military aircraft were developed. The chief engineer and director of Ilyushin explained the “conversion” strategy. Gosplan had drafted lists of civilian products, divided these lists among various ministries—and the ministries then divided these lists among subordinate enterprises. Ilyushin was directed to manufacture spaghetti-packaging machines, potato-peeling machines and other equipment for civilian production. The Ilyushin officials displayed an ornate array of charts, graphs and photos portraying schedules and plans for additional machinery they were expected to produce.

As the chief engineer was about halfway through his elaborate exposition I waved my hand. He halted, and I asked him the following question: You would need to supply spare parts for this equipment, but since you have no data on the reliability of the components how could you set up a proper inventory of spare parts? I also asked how Ilyushin—having no experience in serving civilian customers—intended to provide service manuals, installation

crews and technical support to their prospective clients.

The Ilyushin engineer fell silent and turned to the Gosplan representative, who simply said that this policy is the one that *had* to be pursued for the next three years. But he failed, like his superiors, to explain how this conversion strategy might succeed. A year later I learned that the Gosplan strategy for Ilyushin had been scrapped after my visit. Instead, the firm had undertaken a scheme to stretch their largest commercial jet, utilizing Pratt & Whitney engines and Rockwell avionics to produce a plane that would be a sure-fire earner on international air routes in and out of the U.S.S.R.

From 1991 on there have been scattered reports of conversion efforts undertaken by diverse enterprises in Russia. But for the most part, the managers of top military industry firms want nothing more than to continue what they have been doing. They, like their American counterparts, argue for strategies of weaponry sales around the world as a way of earning hard currency.

At a countrywide conference on conversion of the aerospace industry in August 1992, top Russian managers repeatedly expressed the

desire to continue doing the work they had always known. However, from 1991-1993 very large cuts, two thirds and more, have been made in purchases from the military-industrial complex. Accordingly, the millions of people who work in these enterprises have been placed under a severe strain.

Under both Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, official policy has avoided the problem of conversion in the military-industrial complex. Publicly, reliance is placed on the free market. The Russian government has behaved as if embracing the idea of a market economy would provide a magic formula for transforming and enlarging civilian production.

The Russian government's failure to rationally reorganize production—while it continues to subsidize military industries—has contributed heavily to inflation that has wiped out savings, caused heavy unemployment and degraded the real incomes of ordinary people. The chart on page 22 (“Loss of Power”) shows the dramatic drop in the average Russian's purchasing power. In 1988, a semi-skilled Russian factory worker earned enough money in nine minutes on the job to purchase a liter of milk. By 1993 that same liter of milk cost a full hour's wages. A third column showing the purchasing power of an average hour of U.S. industrial work in 1993 reveals the Third World quality of life for ordinary Russians.

This economically and politically catastrophic policy system has been a major factor in the spectacular rise of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the reactionary Russian nationalist

### Economic overkill

Ratio of military to civilian new asset expenditures

	Military Assets:Civilian Assets
U.S.S.R.	122:100
United States	50:100
United Kingdom	32:100
France	22:100
Germany	18:100
Japan	4:100

Spending figures for the U.S.S.R. are based on internal Soviet statistics for 1991. Figures for all other countries are drawn from United Nations data and reflect 1988 expenditures.

whose party captured 22.8 percent of the vote in last December's parliamentary elections. But just as Western observers have misunderstood the roots of Russia's economic crisis they have also misinterpreted the meaning of Zhirinovskiy's electoral success. U.S. commentators have spoken darkly of Russia following the course of Weimar Germany.

The press has been laden with references to Russian "fascism" and filled with extremist statements from Zhirinovskiy. But Russia is not Weimar. The core element in the collapse of the Weimar republic was the inability of the Social Democratic Party to install government programs that could stimulate market demand during a long business depression. In fact, Weimar Germany's production systems—its industrial plant and labor force skills—were all in good shape, able to produce the whole array of military and civilian goods required for Hitler's military buildup and even to generate a collateral enlargement of consumer demand.

The Russian economic crisis, a large factor in the voting results of December 1993, is not like Weimar—a crisis of market demand—but rather a severe crisis of production, the consequence of a long-enduring war economy. By 1993, the long priority given to military production finally led to pervasive breakdowns. These cannot be repaired by simply importing Western financial devices or by rapidly transferring ownership from the government to private persons. Any credible effort to rebuild Russia's economy—and undercut the appeal of its neo-fascist leaders—will require an economic reform plan that utilizes worker input to radically reorganize production and gives the Russian people a major stake in a civilian-priority, politically democratic future.

Though America's economic situation is less precarious than Russia's, the need for similar conversion strategies is no less pressing. Both countries need a conversion policy that includes advanced planning that is highly decentralized, with labor-management alternative-use committees to plan a future for every military facility. Notably, on April 21, the Connecticut House of Representatives mandated the establishment of alternative-use committees in major military contracting firms to "plan to reduce or eliminate the dependence of the contractor on defense contracts," and to design civilian products that "are feasible to produce and marketable."

By 1990 the decay of many U.S. industries—marked by factory closings, abandonment of domestic production and movement abroad—led to dependency on imports equivalent to 2.7 million U.S. jobs. This abandonment of U.S.-based production was especially concentrated in the capi-

tal/durable goods industries—1.7 million out of the 2.7 million U.S. jobs lost to imports. (The 1993 employment in U.S. military industries is, coincidentally, 2.7 million.)

Unfortunately, as in Russia, the U.S. government has no conversion policy that would utilize the skills of the 2.7 million people now locked into dependence on the Pentagon's largesse. There is no initiative by the federal government that compares to the West European effort to invest \$100 billion to connect major cities by fast trains. Such a project in the United States (similar in area to Western Europe) would require development of an array of new U.S. industries

to design and produce the requisite equipment. An investment of about \$180 billion would be needed, giving U.S. aerospace workers a new prospect for useful lives.

In both Russia and the United States, economic conversion is blocked by the influential top managers of the respective military-industrial complexes. In the U.S. Congress—as in the Russian Parliament—members often represent military industry, base and research constituencies whose first priority is continuing the activity in

which they were trained and has given them status and a livelihood. In Russia as in the United States the media are generally respectful of the military-industrial complex. In both countries the very idea of a demilitarization process has been put down the Orwellian "memory hole."

Presidents Yeltsin and Bill Clinton both confront economies in need of major repair. Both are incapable of drawing upon the resources now used up in their respective military economies. They also have a similar cover story for avoiding a conversion process: wait for signals from the non-government market. Behind the rhetoric about depending on the market, however, is a real fear of enhancing the decision-power of working people—a natural result of any conversion program relying on plant-level labor-management committees to determine civilian uses for military factories.

The near-term debate about whether and how to do economic conversion is the debate about whether and how to have a productive society. For only by reorienting their economies to give priority to civilian production can the economic crises—both Russian and American—be resolved. ◀

*Seymour Melman's latest work, "What Else is There To Be Done? Neglected Prospects for Major Job Creation in U.S. Manufacturing," is available from the National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament, which he chairs. The Commission's address is 1828 Jefferson St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.*

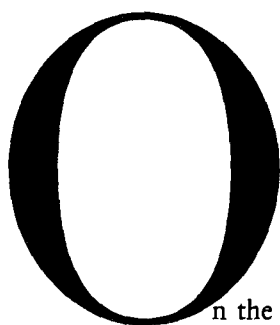
### Loss of power

The purchasing power of a semi-skilled production worker in the U.S. and Russia as measured in the work-time (hours-minutes) needed to buy certain goods. For example, in 1988 a Russian had to work 8 hours and 28 minutes to earn the money for a kilo of steak.

	Russia		U.S.
	1988	1993	1993
Steak(kilo)	8 hr. 28 min.	33 hr. 27 min.	43 min.
Milk(liter)	9 min.	1 hr.	4 min.
Oranges(kilo)	3 hr. 57 min.	7 hr. 12 min.	11 min.
Men's dress shirt	10 hr. 10 min.	14 hr. 23 min.	1 hr. 40 min.
Gasoline(liter)	15 min.	32 min.	6 min.
TV(b/w)	163 hr. 51 min.	503 hr. 36 min.	5 hr. 5 min.

**EASTERN EUROPE**

# No farewell to arms



On the ninth floor of the Economics Ministry is the office of Vladimir Pavlik, director of armament and reconversion in Slovakia. On the right side of his desk lies a stack of catalogues advertising tractors, bulldozers and forklifts. To his left are briefing papers for T-72 tanks, "Zuzana" howitzers, rocket launchers and other specialties of Slovakia's once-prized arms industry.

Pavlik, an engineer active since the early '70s in Czechoslovak arms production, sees no conflict between the two halves of his dual role. He explains that the factories must be put back in operation, whether or not they produce tanks or tractors.

The Slovaks, like all of their former East bloc allies, know that their arms trade will never again be what it was under communism. In 1988, Czechoslovakia was the world's eighth-largest

weapons exporter. In Bulgaria, weapons production accounted for a sixth of its gross national product.

Today, however, many Eastern European governments see arms production as one way to help them solve their immediate economic woes. "At the moment we're not selling much of either—tanks or tractors," says Pavlik. "But these factories make potentially lucrative military goods, which bring in a lot more than civilian products. If we can find legal markets in non-conflict areas, then we'll produce and export them, just like everyone else."

Throughout Eastern Europe, the topic of arms production touches raw nerves. In Slovakia, for example, many feel that the international community has unfairly singled out their military industry for close scrutiny, forcing conversion upon Slovakia to its detriment. In the 1992 election campaign, independent Slovakia's first prime minister, Vladimir Meciar, scored big points by promising to "put the arms industry back on its feet"—and Slovaks back to work.

In largely agricultural countries like Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania, the construction of arms factories was part of an intensive industrialization effort during the '60s and '70s. Before 1989, Slovakia manufactured two-thirds of Czechoslovakia's military-related hardware, primarily the heavier equipment, such as the classic Warsaw Pact T-72 tanks, armored personnel carriers and artillery. The Czechs concentrated on light and high-tech weaponry. During the '80s, weapons sales made up over one-quarter of both Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria's foreign trade income, the highest in the world in terms of per capita production. Although the lion's share of exports went to the East bloc, countries like Libya, Syria and Iraq were also high on the list.

In Slovakia, military production at over 200 factories accounted for some 80,000 highly paid jobs; there were 140,000 such jobs in Bulgaria. The profitable arms business also supported other kinds of heavy industrial production, such as trucks and diesel engines. Armaments were a source of prestige for the little countries.

In Czechoslovakia, that all came to an abrupt end shortly after the Velvet Revolution, when President Vaclav Havel announced a moratorium on arms exports "regardless of the economic and political consequences." In those heady days, "conversion" was the word of the hour. Not only in Prague and Bratislava, but from Silicon Valley to Vladivostok "peace dividends" were to be reaped by turning swords into ploughshares.

But the Eastern Europeans' efforts to raise funds for the enormously expensive transformation process met a lukewarm response in the West. In fact, countries such as the United States, France and Switzerland wasted no time stepping into the new democracies' former markets. In 1991,

*In the former  
Czechoslovakia,  
plans are  
afoot to beat  
ploughshares  
into swords.*

**By Paul Hockenos**  
BRATISLAVA, SLOVAKIA



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### Tanks in a Czech scrap yard.

whether perhaps the United States, the world's largest arms exporter, didn't have a special interest in seeing their countries on the sidelines.

Despite the official moratorium, Czechoslovakia never fully halted its weapons sales, and deals went through with Syria, Pakistan, Brazil and Croatia. Nevertheless, the bottom fell out of the specialized industry and by 1992 military production had plummeted over 90 percent from its all-time high in 1988 (\$700 million) to about \$50 million.

Although opposition politicians (particularly among the Slovaks) laid the blame on Havel, arms manufacturing, along with other sectors of industry, lost key markets in the East with the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the COMECON trading bloc. By 1987 the entire East bloc had already begun to scale back arms production and start with conversion. Czechoslovakia had made plans to cut military production by 50 percent. The days of easy money for Eastern Europe's weapons industry ended with Mikhail Gorbachev, not with Havel.

Yet, in the heat of the 1992 election campaign, both Czech and Slovak politicians exploited the arms issue. The Czech Republic's next prime minister, Vaclav Klaus, insisted that "Czechoslovakia should not be the most peaceful country in the world that will not sell a single bullet or a single gun to anyone." The national populist Vladimir Meciar vowed to put the Slovak arms industry back into Slovak hands. "Our tanks cost only a fifth of what American tanks cost," he campaigned, "but they're not five times as bad."

Since Czechoslovakia's division it has been the Czechs who have turned their high-tech hardware into profit. "The Czechs have a cleaner image because they sell cleaner, sleeker weapons, like training jets and electronics equipment," says Yahia Said, a conversion expert at the Prague-based Helsinki Citizens Assembly. "All along they've been exporting more than the Slovaks."

the United States sold 500 American-made tanks to Egypt, filling a contract for 500 Czechoslovak tanks. Czech and Slovak politicians wondered aloud

Today, even Havel says that he is "only against the production of outdated military technology to unsafe regions."

In Slovakia, only a trickle of the assistance that the Meciar government promised the arms industry has been forthcoming. Instead, a handful of big-name weapon manufacturers from Germany, Britain, Belgium and France have begun investing in Slovakia and are looking at other former Soviet bloc countries. Slovakia recently unveiled its modernized T-72M2 main battle tank, which the Belgian firm SABCA upgraded with the latest NATO-quality electronics and fire-control systems. Slovak and SABCA executives say that South America, Asia, the Middle East and Africa are potential clientele for the hybrid weaponry.

"The old Slovak tanks are anachronistic today," says Peter Marianek of the Bratislava-based democracy group Hnutie Human. "But if you combine inexpensive Slovak hardware with Western technology, then they're back in the running again."

Pavlik argues that military production should be restored to 30-40 percent of its former capacity. The first priority is Slovakia's own army. But where international regulations allow, Slovakia will try to find buyers for its weapons. "These factories are empty, the workers are sitting at home," explains Pavlik. "Every country needs defense and our weapons are the right price for poorer countries. Not every country needs the most advanced technology."

Others insist that arms are a dead end for Slovakia. Tanks like the Russian T-92s are cheaper and better than the Slovak T-72s. Germany is practically giving away former East German surplus. "Slovak politicians maintain the illusion that they can keep on making tanks forever," argues Said. "The arms industry in Slovakia was unthinkable without the Warsaw Pact, and now that it's gone this kind of production will die under its own weight. They have no real choice but to convert."

The Economics Ministry says that 20 percent of the total Slovak arms industry has been converted to civilian production. The biggest tank factory, ZTS Martin, has a contract to make tractor engines for an Italian firm. The Dubnica plant produces oil field equipment for a U.S. company drilling in Russia. Nevertheless, the Dubnica factory that once employed 16,000 people now has only 7,500 workers. Although the government has slotted \$534 million for over 50 conversion projects during the next five years, last year the ministry received only half of the money promised it.

In the end, tanks are politics in Eastern Europe. In Bulgaria, the government's timid approach to resuscitating arms sales prompted strikes at the factories and contributed to one government's fall. In Slovakia, a word against the sacred arms industry is tantamount to national treason. No serious politician dares publicly acknowledge what economists say behind closed doors—that the glory days of the Slovak arms industry are gone for good. ◀

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## THE SUPREME COURT

# Risky business

# D

uring the 1992 presidential campaign, Bill Clinton blasted President George Bush for appointing judges who "favor the interests of big business over the rights of individuals." In his stump speeches, Clinton promised to restore ideological balance to the nation's courts, which he said had "become the province of the right wing, whose minions have pursued a single-minded effort to remake the federal judiciary in their own image."

Today, there is no small irony in seeing those same right-wing "minions" enthusiastically support Stephen Breyer, Clinton's nominee for the Supreme Court. Bruce Fein, a former attorney in the Reagan Justice Department, calls Breyer "better than anything that could have been hoped for by George Bush." Fein, quoted in the *American Bar Association Journal*, even predicted that Breyer will be "Bill Clinton's Earl War-

ren," an ominous reference to the liberal chief justice who infuriated his conservative presidential sponsor, Dwight Eisenhower.

As chief judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit, Breyer has compiled a strikingly conservative record on economic matters—especially in antitrust law, which he teaches at Harvard Law School. And according to environmental critics, Breyer's approach to health and safety regulation favors corporations looking to cut regulatory corners.

But don't look for second thoughts from the administration. As virtually every commentator has noted, Breyer enjoys broad support on Capitol Hill, ranging from Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA) to Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT). In Breyer, whose economic conservatism is supplemented by polite support for abortion and civil rights, the administration may have found a politically perfect candidate. Unless an unexpected cannabis cloud comes wafting out of his past, Breyer—whose confirmation hearings begin this month—should sail easily through the Senate.

With Clinton's controversial health care legislation pending in Congress, many observers feel the president wisely selected Breyer in order to avoid a nasty confirmation fight.

But Breyer's critics see the president's decision differently. By playing a short-term political game with Breyer, they fear Clinton may have squandered his Supreme Court nomination on an appointee who will do long-term damage to consumers, environmentalists and small business.

"As far as antitrust law is concerned, Breyer is one of the worst appointments Clinton could have made," argues Charles Mueller, editor of the *Antitrust Law and Economics Review*. Breyer's antitrust rulings have given enormous leeway to companies engaging in predatory pricing schemes and other monopolistic practices, Mueller suggests.

A five-year survey of federal antitrust decisions in the October 1991 *Fordham Law Review* found that Breyer compiled the most conservative antitrust record of any Carter- or Reagan-appointed judge. Between 1987 and 1991, Breyer ruled against plaintiffs seeking antitrust protection in every case he heard. According to Mueller, "you can't vote for the defendant in every antitrust case and plausibly maintain that you're fairly weighing the evidence."

In many cases, it seems evident that Breyer has been assessing evidence through the ideological lens of the "Chicago School," the influential group of neo-classical economists centered around the University of Chicago. Their work has not only had an enormous impact on Breyer, but on the thinking of the entire federal judiciary. The Chicago School's economic theories—which view traditional antitrust actions as unjustifiable meddling in the market—have led to a precipitous decline in federal antitrust actions.

Breyer's reluctance to protect antitrust plaintiffs—even

**Clinton's  
nomination of  
Stephen Breyer  
could be bad  
news for  
workers  
and the  
environment.**

By Jim McNeill

when they are under attack from firms attempting to monopolize markets—has led to some tortured rulings. In *Barry Wright Corp. vs. ITT Grinnel Corp.*, Breyer sided with a defendant who, he admitted, may have engaged in classic monopoly practices. The defendant, ITT Grinnel—which controlled 94 percent of the American market for a nuclear-plant safety device—promised a major customer that it would cut the cost of the device if the customer would agree not to purchase the product from the Barry Wright Corp., a competitor trying to enter the market. Writing for the First Circuit Court, Breyer declined to rule against Grinnel since the firm may have dropped the price not merely “because it wished to keep Barry out of the marketplace,” but for other reasons as well.

With the author of such a ruling on the Supreme Court, Mueller fears small companies will have nowhere to turn for protection. “If you’re a lower court judge and you know the Supreme Court won’t uphold your antitrust decision you’ll be less inclined to rule for the plaintiff,” Mueller said.

While Breyer’s antitrust opinions have provoked concern, perhaps his most controversial views come in the area of risk assessment. In Breyer’s 1993 book, *Breaking the Vicious Circle: Toward Effective Risk Regulation*, the prospective Supreme Court justice attempts to chart a course through the political minefield of U.S. environmental, health and safety regulations.

With corporate interests calling current health and safety standards too strict and environmentalists labeling the standards too lax, Breyer is certainly correct in saying that our nation has a serious regulatory dilemma on its hands. His proposed solution to that dilemma, however, has provoked the ire of many environmentalists. One of the most carefully argued critiques of Breyer’s book appeared in the June 16 issue of *Rachel’s Hazardous Waste News*, a Maryland-based weekly newsletter.

Breyer argues that the problem with risk assessment is that “regulators often find that they simply lack critically important scientific or empirical data” when trying to determine how hazardous a particular substance is. Lacking solid scientific data, they are forced to make decisions based on political pressure. This analysis seems sound. But Breyer implicitly assumes that hysterical housewives, not powerful corporations, are driving the current risk-assessment debate. Breyer

says he wants to create a new regulatory system that would provide “political insulation” from all pressure groups. But the model he proposes—which would rely upon a “small, centralized administrative group” of elite scientists to exercise final review of regulatory decisions—has major flaws.

Breyer says the politically insulated group could succeed by following the precedent set by the U.S. military, which, he notes, is “not an open institution.” Of course, the military’s lack of political accountability has allowed it to become the nation’s largest polluter. Given this vision of risk assessment, environmentalists fear Breyer’s elevation to the court could present some substantial risk of its own.

Many of Breyer’s liberal supporters have compared him to Harry Blackmun, the retiring justice whose seat Breyer hopes to fill. When Richard Nixon nominated Blackmun to the court, liberals dismissed the judge as the “Minnesota Twin,” a judicial mirror-image of fellow Minnesotan Warren Burger, the conservative chief justice. During Blackmun’s first year on the court, he did join Burger in 90 percent of his votes. But Blackmun eventually evolved into an independent and thoughtful justice. In 1973 he authored *Roe vs. Wade*, which gives women the legal right to abortions. And by the end of his career he was an impassioned opponent of the death penalty.

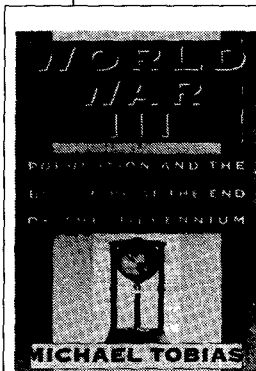
However, it’s unlikely that Breyer will be another Blackmun. His conservative economic and regulatory views reflect a carefully considered and mature judicial philosophy—one he has spent years defending. ◀

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**B L A C K A M E R I C A**

# Subtle shadings

**A**

*The mainstream media has largely ignored the issue of race in the O.J. Simpson affair.*

By Salim Muwakkil

about 95 million people watched O.J. Simpson's bizarre, slow-motion car chase along the San Diego Freeway last month. The last time the public seemed so riveted to a live news event was the 1991 sexual harassment drama involving then-Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas and his former employee and accuser, Anita Hill.

These two media spectacles share several features: both leading characters were African-American men who de-emphasized their racial identities, both men were married to white women and both their cases triggered a national examination of larger issues—in the case of Thomas, sexual harassment; in the case of Simpson, domestic violence.

But race has been all but forgotten in the main-

stream discussion of the Simpson case. Conventional wisdom holds that this is a story of celebrity, passion and murder. Among African-Americans, however, this case primarily is about race.

"The media has tried, convicted and hung another African-American male before the 'real' justice system can decide," an editorial in Chicago's black-owned *Citizen* newspaper argues. "African-Americans can no longer allow the media raping of our men. If not O.J. today, it may be your husband, father or son tomorrow."

That criticism of the mainstream media is being echoed throughout the African-American community. In Los Angeles, a coalition of African-American organizations held a joint news conference criticizing both the media and the police for prematurely assigning guilt to Simpson and to black males in general. Similar protests were voiced by black groups in New York City, St. Louis, Oakland, the District of Columbia, Chicago and other locations across the country.

This concert of black criticism strikes many as odd, since the criminal justice system, in fact, bent over backwards to accommodate the former NFL star. But the L.A.

Police Department's apparently lenient treatment of Simpson undoubtedly was more a function of his celebrity than a sign of racial impartiality.

"Because of our complicated, race-infused history, it's almost impossible not to find a racial dimension in the Simpson story," explains Naimah Latif, co-author of the book *Slavery: The African-American Psychic Trauma*. Latif suggests that the Simpson case plays all too well into many long-established racial stereotypes.

"The 'brutal black buck' is one of the most deeply entrenched stereotypes of black males," she says. "And all of these news stories about Simpson's alleged wife-beating propensities are beginning to fill in that well-worn groove."

African-Americans are justifiably sensitive about media events that stoke white fears about the brutal black buck. That's why many who find Clarence Thomas' politics abhorrent nonetheless have sympathized with his complaint that he was the victim of a "high-tech lynching." It also helps explain why so many African-Americans are troubled by the Simpson affair.

Because of his own insistence on downplaying his race, Simpson had been warmly embraced by white Americans as an innocuous ex-jock. But the brutal nature of the murder with which he is accused—the manic slashing of Nicole Brown Simpson and Ronald Goldman—negates that carefully cultivated image and seemingly confirms white America's hidden fears.

"Simpson was loved across America, but America

doesn't need him the way black America does," writes Barry Cooper in an article syndicated by the National Newspaper Publishers Association, a group that represents most of the country's black newspapers.

"I watched it [the Simpson chase] on television and I cried," Cooper quotes Surie Sprowl, a barber in Orlando, Fla., as saying. "It hurt as an African-American to see O.J. go down like that. I don't care what you say, O.J. was a role model for young black kids."

The Rev. Al Sampson, a politically active Chicagoan, is convinced that white pundits and prosecutors are using the case to further tarnish black role models and to avenge the deaths of a white man and woman. "The only difference between this lynching and those in the 1800s is that yesterday it was done with a tree and today it is done with a TV," Sampson suggests.

Such claims might sound paranoid. But, in fact, the media *has* played on the brutal black buck stereotype. The most conspicuous example thus far has been a *Time* magazine "photo-illustration" cover that altered Simpson's police mug shot, using computer graphics technology to darken his skin tone. "The cover appeared to be a conscious effort to make Simpson look evil and macabre," suggests Dorothy Gilliam, president of the National Association of Black Journalists, one of several groups that protested the *Time* cover shot. Latif argues that the darkening of Simpson's skin is the football star's symbolic excommunication from honorary white status. (In response to the growing criticism

*Time* magazine managing editor James Gaines has offered a public apology for any offense the photo manipulation may have caused.)

Paradoxically, many of the most vociferous critics of media coverage also are quite critical of Simpson. "I'm personally not at all sympathetic to his plight," declares Tele Imani, a regular caller to Chicago's black-owned talk radio station WVON. "In fact, I see him as kind of a race traitor for deserting black people and marrying a white woman." A significant number of WVON callers have echoed Imani's opinion.

The sports commentator, actor and rental car pitchman also has been criticized for his lack of attention to so-called black causes. Former football star Jim Brown, for example, has vocally taken Simpson to task for his lack of enthusiasm about helping black youth. Conrad Worrill, chairman of the National Black United Front, concurs: "I don't know of anything O.J. Simpson has done to directly benefit the black community in any way. He was a powerful running back and a well-paid commentator—but that's about it. I know many people who say he's actually turned his back on the black community."

The O.J. Simpson story is inherently important because it is a primal tale of love and obsession, of jealousy, brutality and murder. It's a saga of rags to riches and, as Jesse Jackson has said, "of amazing grace to disgrace." But it is also very much a story about race. The mainstream's lack of interest in that story just may be the biggest story of all. ◀

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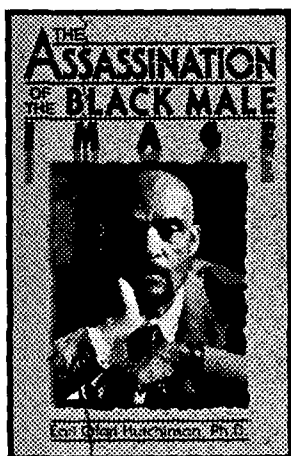
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## VIEWPOINT

# A woman scorned

By Etelka Lehoczky

**W**hat is your real reason for coming forward? Ambition, money, attention, revenge? No one will believe you, anyway." With all the solemnity of an invocation, Robin Morgan opened Ms. magazine's January 1992 issue by repeating the phrases notoriously used to silence women who come forward with charges of sexual harassment and assault. The issue contained six different defenses of Anita Hill and a lengthy exposé of sexual harassment in Washington. It was emblazoned across the cover with the declaration "Women + Rage = Power." Throughout the issue, women's anger was so palpably self-evident that it was hardly surprising that merely invoking the phrases of dismissal, as Morgan did, could elicit the rage, and the power, that the cover so bluntly described.

The Hill/Thomas hearings revitalized feminism, kindling new organizations, inspiring congressional campaigns and winning converts dedicated to advancing the still-fragile notion that a woman's "character"—who she is, what she wears and how she carries herself—should not be used to

dismiss her charge that she was harassed or assaulted. Today, though, feminists are suggesting that in one very particular case the woman's character *does* make a difference: Paula Corbin Jones' accusation of sexual harassment against President Clinton. Echoing a nearly universal concurrence, *The Nation's* Katha Pollitt recently wrote, with the air of one expressing a self-evident if unpalatable truth, "Fair enough. Jones is no Hill."

But just *why* is Paula Jones no

***Paula Jones  
may not be an  
appealing victim.  
But her charges  
against the  
president, like all  
charges of sexual  
harassment, deserve  
a fair hearing.***

Anita Hill? And why do so many believe she deserves none of the support that Hill received from feminists?

Sure, Jones' eyes have dollar signs in them, and she's clearly being used by far-right "Foes of Bill" who see her charges as a sex issue, not a sexual harassment issue. And then there are the yawning credibility gaps in her complaint, most obviously the false claim that she was denied merit raises after the incident with Clinton allegedly occurred.

But she also has proof that Hill lacked, in the form of several affidavits from people who say that a shaken and humiliated Jones told them about the incident on the day it happened. And her accused isn't exactly the pope. These factors have convinced even liberal members of the press such as *The New Republic's* Michael Kinsley and Mickey Kaus, as well as the left-leaning Pollitt, that at some level Jones' story may well be true.

But questions of verity aside, one would certainly expect at least a small *frisson* of feminist ire at the way in which Jones' accusations have been so roundly trivialized. After all, her case is being judged by the same male-dominated power structure that put Hill through such hell and inspired women like Carol Moseley Braun, Diane Feinstein and Barbara Boxer to run for Congress in 1992. When Clinton's lawyer, Robert Bennett, who has represented Dan Rostenkowski and is a poker buddy of William Rehnquist and Antonin Scalia, insists with all the heartfelt sincerity at his command that the incident Jones alleges "simply didn't happen," one would expect a reprise of the swelling fury that exploded against the male establishment when that congressional panel raked Hill over the coals.

There has, of course, been an outpouring of moral indignation—but it's been directed against the alleged victim, not the accused. For most of the press, the very idea that Clinton could



be charged with such a thing (and by the right, no less) is, apparently, so appalling that it leaves one reeling at the horror of it all. Jones, it seems, has committed the ultimate sin: By aligning with Clinton's sworn enemies to bring forward what are assumed to be false charges against a Democratic president, she has shown a marked lack of taste.

"Every time you think politics and the media cannot get any sleazier, there's a nasty surprise around the corner," huffed Mort Zuckerman in *U.S. News and World Report*. He was apparently inspired by Maureen Dowd, who noted a few weeks earlier in the *New York Times* that "every time it seems as though the bizarre descent of politics into Oprahland has gone about as far as it can go, there is another lurch downward."

These reactions are based on the assumption that Jones' shady motives necessarily invalidate her charges. It's a point of view that is all too common in public discourse; what's odd is that feminists like Eleanor Smeal and Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-CO) concur with it. Schroeder, who rallied support among her fellow congresswomen for both Anita Hill and Tailhook victim Paula Coughlin, said the Jones situation "just makes me want to throw up."

Schroeder clearly wishes she could replace Jones with another, more appealing victim. She's even tried, at least rhetorically, to conjure one up. Approaching a group of conservatives she noticed wearing "I believe Paula" buttons, she taunted: "I'm glad you finally believe Paula Coughlin." But the fact is that it's Jones, not Coughlin or Hill, who is standing up this time. And despite all the readily apparent flaws in her case and her character, Jones is clearly in need of some form of feminist support.

Over the past few months, she's been the target of a volley of degradation that should make one wince. *The New Yorker's* cartoon of a pouty Jones with a mane of frizzy hair and bulbous curves swelling under a tight dress epitomizes her widespread portrayal as a bad worker and a bad girl, a "Dogpatch Madonna" (in the words



of *Newsweek's* Melinda Beck) who rebelled against her religious upbringing by smoking, dancing and drinking beer. In a word, a bimbo. *Newsweek* declares it "slightly farcical" that this "former \$12,817-a-year clerk" would even dare to sue the president. Adding to the joke is her brother-in-law's statement that he'd seen her pinch men's butts at Red Lobster and "rub herself up and down on" a man other than her date at a local "duck-calling and gumbo cookoff."

As evidence of Jones' "credibility gap," Beck notes that Mike Gauldin, Clinton's former press secretary, saw Jones "milling around" the reception desk at the governor's office even after the incident with Clinton allegedly took place. Still more damningly, "when she was there, [Gauldin] had to

listen to hours and hours of beauty-shop inane conversation." Jones' former boss doubts her story for the sole reason that she was a self-obsessed chatterbox; since "every detail of her life ... was daily news at the office," she wouldn't have been able to keep the incident a secret.

Not that Jones does not fit these characterizations. She fits them all too well, as was apparent as she groped for words and artlessly attempted to evade Sam Donaldson's more probing questions in a recent interview on ABC's *PrimeTime Live*. She came across as a frightened child—and that was just how Donaldson treated her, addressing her as "Miss Jones" despite her married status and adopting a gently hectoring, fatherly mien.

Anita Hill would never have let

Donaldson talk to her that way. Educated, accomplished and articulate, Hill was a veritable poster girl for feminism. Her poise and style were toasted by *Vanity Fair* and *Glamour* magazines, the first including her in its 1992 Hall of Fame, the second naming her a Woman of the Year. Hill was just like her supporters, the upwardly mobile women in political organizations and the press who transformed her into a minor feminist deity.

It's easy to see why they did. Hill's clear standing as One of Us was critical to her story's believability. Feminist rhetoric masks the fact that we, like everyone else, judge a woman's case first on the basis of whether or not we empathize with her. We want to hear certain themes evoked, feel certain inner strings tugged. Hill provided us a narrative with which we could identify; Jones does not.

We understand sexual harassment principally as an assault on one's dignity; Jones, a silly little girl with a Southern twang, in our eyes has precious little dignity to assault. And she conforms even less well to the other favorite feminist narrative that Hill's tale capsulized: that of the raw deal. Just like Hill, most powerful women can tell of struggling to succeed in the man's world only to be unfairly deprived of its rewards. Of course we believed her story—it was infuriatingly easy to imagine the things that she described happening to any of us.

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If Hill's story epitomized this feminist fable of stolen opportunity, Jones' represents something altogether different. She has no career as such; her position as a "\$12,817-a-year clerk" for the state of Arkansas was the latest in a series of jobs lasting less than nine months apiece. Arguably, Clinton's attentions (whatever they may have been) were a hidden jackpot. Jones herself has apparently been aware of this for some time—her sister, who corroborates her story, quotes her as saying that Clinton's pass "smelled of money either way."

All this leaves feminists with a problem. I'm not sure whether Jones' charges are believable enough to offset Clinton's advantages as a president over, say, Quayle. I admit I've got my fingers crossed, hoping that no more credible victim emerges from Clinton's murky past with a story that's harder to discount.

But feminists should certainly express general disgust at Jones' public humiliation, and would also do well to stop comparing her to Hill.

Feminism is not about weighing a woman's character and judging her virtue. It's about fostering an environment in which all women are treated with respect and dignity, one in which our voices are listened to, not suppressed or dismissed. A woman charging sexual harassment or assault should not, of course, be received with unquestioning acceptance—but she should also not be branded with the assumption of immorality or basic duplicity. Until only recently these dismissals were the norm in public debate, and, lest we forget, they remain the norm in courtrooms across the country.

Jones does seem to be something of an opportunist, and she may even be lying—but that doesn't mean we can stand by as she is showered with accusations designed to shame her into silence: "What's your *real* reason for coming forward? What's your *real* motivation?" These questions may be particularly apt in Jones' case, but that's not the point. They shouldn't be applied to *any* woman—because then they can be applied to all women. ◀

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# I N T H E A R T S

## The boys of summer

**Y**es, I know, I know, it seems like *every* year is the Year of the Man in Hollywood, but this summer it's not just the usual mindless testosterone fest on display in the theaters—now is the season of patriarchy and its discontents. Disney is offering up *The Lion King*, an animated film urging young males to take command of society. In *Wolf*, a mild-mannered Jack Nicholson gets a dose of animal magnetism that helps him gut his competition in the publishing industry. And in *Wyatt Earp*, Kevin Costner stars as the mythic frontier legend, who is revealed to be a prodigal son whose dreams of patriarchy are thwarted by his love of guns and money.

*Werewolves, gunfighters and the king of the jungle search for the meaning of manhood in Hollywood's summer blockbusters.*

By Pat Dowell

The most entertaining of the three movies is, surprisingly enough, *The Lion King*. Disney's animators have seldom been more spirited in their graphics, and

the computer-assisted crowd scenes of flamingos and wildebeests, along with the luxurious star turns by vocal actors as diverse as Jeremy Irons and Nathan Lane, make this a glorious piece of deluxe Hollywood animation.

The Disney brains were working overtime as well in attempting to make this a moral fable for young men. And not just any young men, either, since the story is set on the African plains, and deals pointedly with the need for male leadership and role models. This is an Africa where, by chamber-of-commerce logic, the animal at the top of the food chain commands the loyalty of those less endowed with a killer instinct. Young Simba the lion cub is born to this throne, but foiled by a dastardly plot concocted by his uncle Scar (Jeremy Irons), an effete non-breeder among the big cats who forms an alliance with a group of depraved hyenas in a plot to kill the king.

Young Simba runs away to grow up rootless and fancy-free with a couple of vagabonds in another part of the jungle. (His best friend is a happy-go-lucky meerkat, played with vaudevillian gusto by Lane, doing essentially an ani-

imated version of the sympathetic gay neighbor he's patented in other movies.) But eventually Simba's childhood sweetheart discovers him and prods him back into princely gear, and he retakes his father's throne from the craven Scar.

Disney has prudently divided the star roles between black voices and white. The old king is the most recognizable African-American voice in the nation: James Earl Jones. The villain is whiter-than-white Irons, but his chief ally is hyena packleader Whoopi Goldberg. Simba, the hero, is given voice by Matthew Broderick.

Although the film, predictably enough, Disneyfies Africa, it avoids the minstrel-style comic relief common in Disney films of yore, providing a respectful, if simplified, black mythology for the Magic Kingdom. Sexual politics remain at the Flintstones level, however. Though the story acknowledges that lionesses do the hunting, and though the heroine can pin her Simba to the ground whenever they quarrel, the film never explains just why the kingdom needs Simba to save it. Why can't the girls handle Scar themselves?

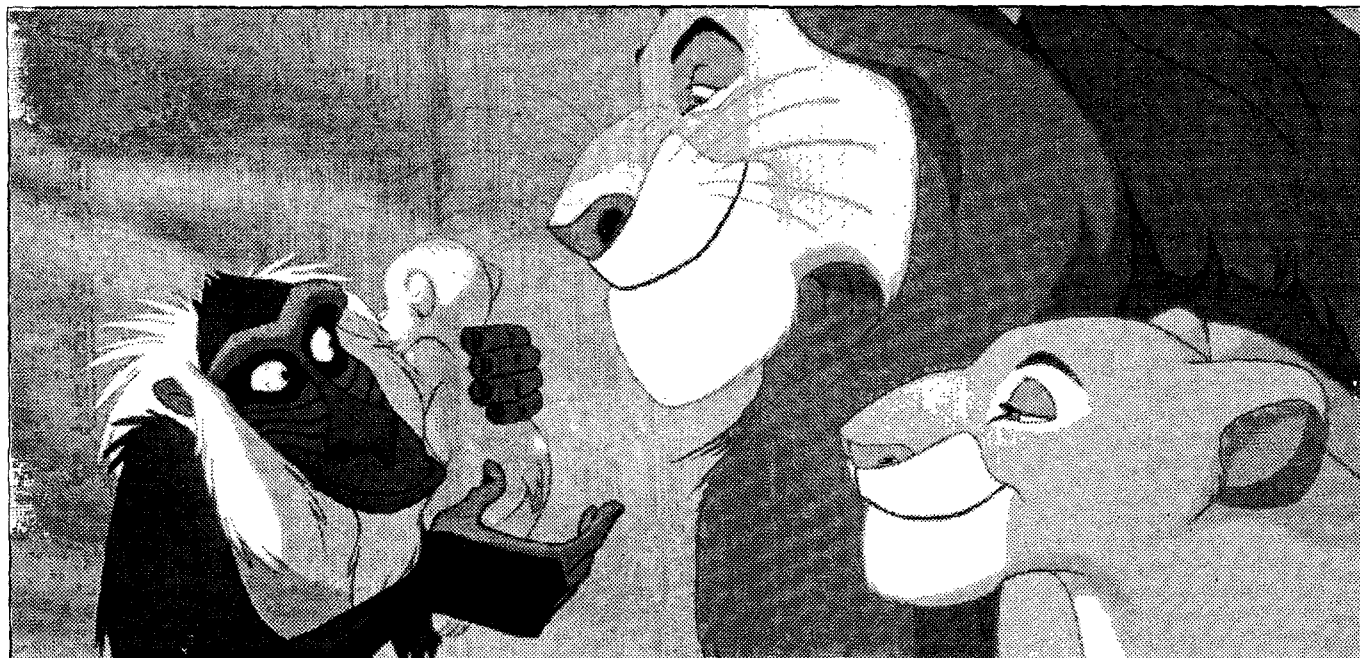
In *Wolf*, it takes the bite of an animal to make Jack Nicholson a man. Nicholson, playing a New York literary



Wyatt Earp  
Directed by  
Lawrence Kasdan



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agent, starts down the predatory path after running over a wolf with his Volvo in Vermont. Trying to pull the beast out of the road, Jack gets a nasty bite that does for him what assertiveness training used to do for women.

Jack's beastliness reverses his receding hairline, puts hair on his palms, and gives him an even toothier grin. But, more importantly, it encourages him to become as ruthless a corporate player in the dog-eat-dog world of New York publishing as the takeover tycoon who fires him because he's old and slow. Director Mike Nichols invests the modern wolf story with a luxurious sense of serious fun; Jack Nicholson gives one of his better performances by holding something back.

Writer-director Lawrence Kasdan doesn't seem to have held anything back from *Wyatt Earp*. At more than three hours, it's the longest movie ever about the legendary lawman. Kasdan could have dispensed with the first hour or so, which moseys ever so slowly over the territory of Wyatt's youth. Wyatt's dad, Gene Hackman, instructs him in the manly truths about law, vicious men and violence. ("Hit hard and hit first," is the gist of the pragmatic message.) Wyatt loses his young wife to typhoid and becomes an alcoholic drifter who steals a horse and almost gets hanged.

Finally we get to Dodge City, where the movie at last begins to click, charting the complex contradictions of the film's hero, who hankered after the morally conservative patriarchal authority of his father yet was fascinated by guns and gambling.

Wyatt assembles a family of sorts by gathering his brothers about him as deputies. The promise of investment opportunities in mining lures the Earps to Tombstone—we are working up bit by bit to the gunfight at the OK Corral—but by this time Kasdan's ambitions are more confused than Wyatt's.

The movie's tone veers uncertainly between repudiation of the western code of manly violence and enormous affection for it, between de-mythologizing Wyatt as the false hero quick on the trigger and re-mythologizing him as a tragically corrupted lawman. Kevin Costner is ideally suited to play such a conflicted man, and applies himself with much elbow grease. Emaciated Dennis Quaid, as vinegary, murderous Doc Holliday, walks off with the picture effortlessly. Kasdan muddles the narrative line (it's not clear here why the Earps and the Clantons are feuding in Tombstone before the famous shootout), but he includes much tantalizing detail of the chaotic capitalism that was the reality behind our romanticized view of the heroic frontier.

Disney goes back to Africa  
with *The Lion King*.

All three of these movies are about males who have failed as males—which, in the terms of our popular culture, means they have failed to take command. The lion king is urged by the ghost of his father to resume his rightful place as monarch. Jack Nicholson in *Wolf* is haunted by the ancient presence of the beast within him, but finds no place for this creature in the contemporary world—finally loping off to the wild woods (to be joined, presumably, by a woman who really does run with the wolves).

Earp, on the other hand, does appear to be in control in both Dodge City and then Tombstone, but the movie in its best moments is about his own sense of failure off the street and the compensatory power of his guns. Yet it ends up suggesting that we should be grateful that killers like Wyatt are around to dispose of killers like the Clantons. So, whether roaring, howling or written with bullets, the message this summer seems to be the familiar one: a man's gotta do what a man's gotta do.

# I N P R I N T

## The lean years

By David Moberg

Apple Computer is the embodiment of a great contemporary American myth, an industrial Horatio Alger story: that of boys tinkering in a garage who launch a firm that becomes a multimillion-dollar giant. And so the notion of small business as economic savior has spread. When corporate behemoths like IBM stumble, investors and public officials alike search frantically for the garage that might spawn the next Apple.

Over the past 15 years, it's not been just conservative free-marketeers who have applauded small entrepreneurs as the real job creators. Many liberals have also promoted small businesses—especially in cooperative ventures involving government and empowered workers—as attractive, socially responsible alternatives to the big corporations that have abandoned one community after another.

Bennett Harrison, an economist at Carnegie Mellon University who has collaborated with Barry Bluestone in earlier works on deindustrialization and growing income inequality, effectively destroys the illusory promise of small business in his new book, *Lean and Mean: The Changing Landscape of Corporate Power in the Age of Flexibility*. He also provocatively charts the new map of corporate power. In the name of flexibility, he argues, big corporations are forming networks that help to unite businesses but that create an even starker division between privileged elites and the vast majority of workers.

Despite the arguments of influential small business enthusiasts like George Gilder and David Birch, there has been no significant increase in the share of jobs provided by small businesses in the United States, Germany and Japan over the past several decades. Moreover, as one study from the '80s indicates, three-fourths of job gains from new businesses came from the less than one percent of new businesses that started out with 100 or more employees. Small firms are unstable and, in general, not very innovative. They pay

workers less and perform more poorly than large firms.

There are some important exceptions, and the relatively poor performance is not an argument for public policy-makers to ignore small businesses. It suggests, rather, the need for government help to strengthen those businesses. But Harrison deftly bashes the belief—cherished by many politicians—that small businesses, once unleashed, can generate economic growth and jobs.

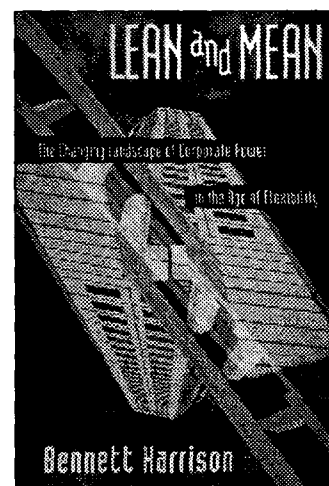
Big corporations are still in the driver's seat, Harrison maintains, but they are changing dramatically. Drawing on a wide range of American and European research, Harrison describes an emerging corporate world where there is simultaneously growing concentration of power and decentralization of production.

Unlike the big corporation of old that may have attempted to own everything it needed from mines and smelters to forges and final assembly lines, the contemporary multinational corporation is the center of a network of businesses. The central corporation is likely to shed activities and employees that it does not consider essential. Work may be dispersed to branches, spun off to subsidiaries, farmed out to subcontractors, performed by consultants, temporaries or part-timers. Corporations may put factories in Indonesia to get cheap labor, or place engineering facilities in Europe to better learn new techniques. They may form strategic alliances with foreign multinationals, as Siemens did with Mitsubishi or GM with Toyota, even while competing with their partners in other arenas.

Ten years ago Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, in their book, *The Second Industrial Divide*, argued that newly developing industrial districts, as found in Italy, Germany and some other European countries, were the wave of the future and an alternative to big corporations.

These agglomerations of small, sometimes tiny, firms in the same or related industries competed and cooperated with each other simultaneously. They were able to provide craftsmanlike work at low prices and with great speed and flexibility. Local governments would often step in to help nurture these networks. In the United States, some observers saw Silicon Valley as a similarly cooperative but competitive enterprise.

But the new industrial networks did not live



**Lean and Mean: The Changing Landscape of Corporate Power in the Age of Flexibility**

By Bennett Harrison

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up to these rosy expectations. Harrison's research on Italy shows that some firms in these networks have been taken over by outsiders; others have had trouble competing in recent years. Benetton, the world-famous maker and merchandiser of colorful sweaters, has now established tiers of dependent firms and workers, extending down to home laborers in Turkey and southern Italy that are poorly paid and overworked. That hardly suggests an inspiring artisanal alternative to mass production.

Similarly, Harrison finds much of the frenzied activity in Silicon Valley less an expression of industrial creativity than of speculative quests for quick capital gains. Work is not especially cooperative, and there are stark divisions between skilled technicians and badly treated production workers. Moreover, Silicon Valley emerged not as the creation of individual entrepreneurs alone but also as the subsidized handiwork of two big institutions—the Department of Defense and Stanford University.

Having demolished hope that small businesses—acting on their own or in concert—could be major engines of economic growth, Harrison turns to the big corporations. In response to the profit squeeze of the '70s, he argues, corporations began a massive reorganization that is still under way, seeking increased flexibility in how they organized work, introduced technology and paid workers. They also began forming networks that were alternatives both to the atomistic ideal of economic textbooks and to the standard hierarchical bureaucracy.

In Japan and in much of Europe businesses have traditionally been much more cooperative than in the United States, and also more accepting of government intervention in business. The Japanese *keiretsu*—or families of interrelated businesses and banks—are highly developed and successful networks.

U.S. corporations have been slower to form these new networks, although foreign corporations have bought into many industries here to gain access to American technology and markets. In part that reflects traditional American distrust of “big government.” And there is little government leadership on cooperation: while Japan spends about \$31 billion a year on technical, training and financial assistance to small firms, the United States, by contrast, spends only about \$50 million. In the United States, the organization of corporate finance and government—given to a shortsighted emphasis on quarterly profits, addicted to takeovers and other such corporate skullduggery—works against long-term alliances.

Will such conditions block—or distinctively shape—future corporate networks in the United States? While Harrison describes this new network or alliance capitalism as the emergent form to which we must adjust whether we like it or not, he implicitly sees it as superior to much of what is practiced by American corporations. But he warns against the dark side of flexibility: growing inequality and deteriorating



rating working conditions for those who are not lucky enough to be in the shrinking central core of the big corporations.

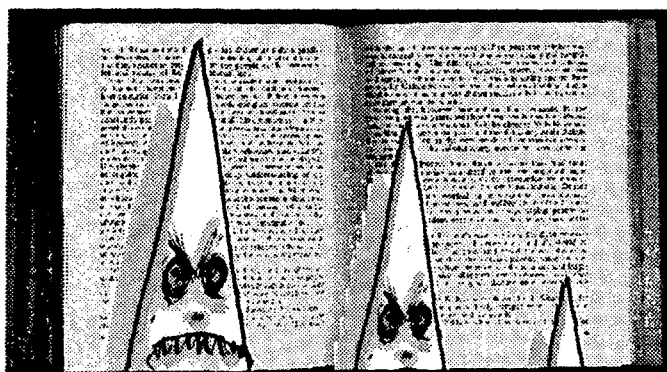
Harrison rightly argues that public policy should discourage corporations from pursuing cheap labor instead of high tech solutions to the problem of profitability. But if the decentralization of production is a key feature of these new networks, then Harrison's call for improving wages of workers in the “periphery” of the big corporate networks flies in the face of the historic tendency he is describing.

Also, despite his critique of the argument on behalf of industrial districts of small firms, he thinks local governments would be wise to nurture such relationships. They simply must remember that in the end the success of the small business districts will depend on how they link up with larger outside networks.

Harrison advocates public policies that strengthen technical and training assistance to businesses. This will “shore up the home base,” strengthening multinationals based in the United States, while luring foreign multinationals to locate here. Yet this strategy, while useful, ultimately leaves nations, like cities or states, dependent on the strategies of multinational alliances. Harrison suggests that the new shape of global capitalism will require new forms of regulation, but he is unable to explain how governments could successfully regulate or control the corporate spiders weaving these new global webs. The first step down that long road is changing U.S. political culture so that a call for greater social accountability from corporations could become a centerpiece of political debate, not an unthinkable, unspeakable idea.



## SPEED READING

**Memoir of a Race Traitor**

By Mab Segrest

South End Press

274 pp., \$15

I wish that all political writing were as deeply satisfying as Mab Segrest's *Memoir of a Race Traitor*. In this powerful book, Segrest (a lesbian-feminist anti-racist organizer from North Carolina) describes her own political and personal odyssey, and details her confrontations with the far right throughout the '80s.

Originally from Alabama, Segrest grew up a "white diaper baby," with impeccably reactionary family credentials. Her great-grandfather, as a judge and a legislator, helped reinstitute the white supremacist system following the Civil War; her father organized a statewide network of segregated private schools after integration, supported George Wallace's populist insurgencies, and worked out of a room filled with precariously piled conservative publications.

But things were to change. "In 1963," she writes, "history came to dinner." Governor Wallace promised "segregation forever," the Birmingham police "turned fire hoses and dogs on children," churches were bombed. Segrest was changed forever. She later wondered if her empathy for the black children entering her classrooms for the first time was an early inkling of her own "differentness"—that is, her sexuality. But, for whatever reason, she found herself fighting with her family at dinner, questioning the sincerity of a faith that preached "Knock, and it shall be opened," while locking the door to blacks.

The book's most compelling sections deal with personal issues: Segrest's coming out; her first loves; her life as a politically active Southern lesbian; the sex wars in the women's movement of the '70s that led her to break with the ideology of separatism; her relationship with her family and, through it, with the racism that underlies Southern society as a whole. In a particularly affecting chapter, she recounts the life of her dear friend, SDS veteran and gay rights advocate Carl Wittman—a community organizer,

teacher of English country dance, lover of Baroque and classical music, and early AIDS martyr.

The explicitly political chapters address such subjects as the formation of North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence, the rise of the White Patriot Party, and a failed attempt at organizing a tri-racial coalition in inconceivably corrupt Robeson County. These stories, too, are uniformly fascinating—and, at times, terrifying. The shadow of potential violence lies heavy on these pages.

In the end, though, *Memoir of a Race Traitor* is about hope, envisioning a human community without boundaries, where we are all "race traitors" and the concept of "race" has itself become meaningless—along with the concepts of sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion and all the hydra-headed conjurations through which people create an "other" upon which to project their deepest fears and hatreds. As Segrest writes, "What I uncovered in North Carolina in the '80s will be our legacy into the next century, unless we intervene. ... But we do not have to accept it. We do not have to accept any of it. There is a lot to be done, but how we go about it is also important. Because all we have ever had is each other."

—Chris Faatz

**No Place Like Utopia: Modern Architecture and the Company We Kept**

By Peter Blake

Alfred A. Knopf

330 pp., \$27.50

It is easily forgotten, in a period when high modernism is defended chiefly by neoconservatives, that in its heyday modern architecture was motivated by radical aspirations, both political and aesthetic. Peter Blake reminds us, in this translucent memoir, that modern architecture was "essentially anticapitalist in nature." Even when working for rich clients, modern architects sought to find democratic solutions to the problems of space and urban life.

Since he was many things—a practicing architect, curator of architecture for the Museum of Modern Art in its early days, and editor of *Architectural Forum* and *Architecture Plus*—Peter Blake is able to combine his no-nonsense cultural criticism with entertaining anecdotes about the likes of Frank Lloyd Wright, Philip Johnson, Jackson Pollack and Buckminster Fuller.

Today, as cities deteriorate, there is a crying need for a new social architecture conceived along the lines of the modern example. Instead, we are treated to endless absurdities—easily punctured by Blake's wry wit: the banal "neoklutz" style of Washington office buildings; the kitschy, corporate "sales gimmick" of '80s postmodernism.

"It was marvelous to be alive when Utopia was young," writes Blake. "It will be marvelous again once the sham of the present has been washed away."

—Christopher Phelps

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in Vienna, Selin dined at a restaurant that supplied him with "a glass of fresh wine, a platter of the famous Austrian charcuterie ... sausages, smoked pork loin, noodles, potatoes and other equally delicate snacks."

And so this report on nuclear safety continues: "local game and produce" in Sweden; "crepes with caviar ... decent braised meats with fruit" in Russia; "beautiful zakuski" in Ukraine. Nuclear issues are a side dish.

When the NRC chairman finally gets around to mentioning the condition of European reactors, his analysis is superficial. He judges reactors in Bulgaria and the Czech Republic to be, respectively, "not bad" and "pretty good." He describes the construction of the Khmelniyski plant in Ukraine as "shabby" and hails the power plant in Forsmark, Sweden, as "a truly beautiful installation." But he is woefully short on details regarding safety matters at each site. He refers to a seemingly important meeting with Russian nuclear officials but offers only a scant summary to avoid "boring the reader with all the details."

Selin, with a doctorate in electrical engineering from Yale, is no technological neophyte. But neither is he an expert in nuclear safety. His report, in any case, will hardly convince skeptics that nuclear regulators know what they are doing.

The Temelin project is breaking new ground for the nuclear industry. It is the first time that a Western company has taken on the completion of a Soviet-designed reactor. According to a 1993 report by the IAEA, VVER-1000 reactors, like those at Temelin, are deficient in 16 areas when compared to U.S. and IAEA standards. Completing the Temelin facility with American safety equipment may compensate for some of the drawbacks of the original VVER-1000 design.

However, a report released in February by an Australian special delegation stated that it will be impossible for Westinghouse to address all 16 safety deficiencies because the project will only add to—not upgrade—critical structures already intact at Temelin. An attempt to refashion the existing reactors in full accordance with the international standards would be prohibitively expensive.

Temelin's opponents—including over 50 members of Congress—have other complaints. No environmental impact assessment has been conducted, for example, and the question of waste disposal has been ignored. Critics of Temelin in neighboring Austria note that the power plant is being built atop a seismic fissure.

Westinghouse, meanwhile, is planning to seek funds for similar projects in Hungary and Russia.

When the time comes to review these proposals, Ex-Im Bank officials and members of Congress should read Selin's report—and anything else he forwards—with a grain of salt ... and perhaps a light vinaigrette, filet tips, sautéed asparagus and a gentle Merlot.

Michael Abowd is a freelance writer living in Washington, D.C.



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# I N T H E E N D

## Cooling rods and caviar

By Michael Abowd

**O**n March 10, the U.S. Export-Import Bank, relying in part on a series of reports from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), approved \$334 million in controversial loan guarantees to Westinghouse Electric so the firm can complete construction of two Soviet-designed nuclear reactors in the Czech Republic. The Temelin nuclear facility, begun in 1986 and left half-finished in 1991, has drawn harsh criticism from American and Czech environmentalists, who claim that this marriage of U.S. and Soviet nuclear technology could be disastrous. Not to worry, replies the Ex-Im Bank. The NRC has checked it out.

But one NRC report in the pro-Temelin brief—a field report on nuclear safety conditions in Eastern Europe written by NRC chairman Ivan Selin—does not inspire confidence. It reveals that Selin has more talent for tasting caviar than testing cooling rods.

Selin visited Europe in 1991, ostensibly to assess Eastern European reactors and review the environmental, fiscal and safety status of incomplete nuclear facilities left behind by the fallen communist regimes. But most of his report, titled "In Search of Nuclear Safety," reads like a travelogue, replete with descriptions of his fine lodgings, his visits to picturesque sites and his encounters with exotic foods.

Less than half of the 19-page report deals with issues of nuclear safety—and then only vaguely. The rest consists of the enthusiastic babblings of a well-seasoned gourmand. Selin describes in detail the first few days of his two-week jaunt: he stayed in Parisian hotel rooms overlooking the Tuileries and the Place de la Concorde; he visited the Dome restaurant for a bellyfull of "the best bouillabaisse in the world"; he



toured French Gothic cathedrals; and then he had a "wonderful quick lunch—racelette, French style, with charcuterie as well as cheese and potatoes of the original Swiss version."

Later, in Vienna, he was introduced to the Sacher Hotel's claim to fame, the "Sachertorte, a chocolate-and-nut confection covered with a rich chocolate icing." Unimpressed by the "so-so" buffet served at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) conference

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